UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Who are you?: Exploring Identity Content Among Young Adults from Diverse Backgrounds Across Contexts Using a Mixed-Methods Approach

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Minas Michikyan

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Who are you?: Exploring Identity Content Among Young Adults from Diverse Backgrounds Across Contexts Using a Mixed-Methods Approach

By

Minas Michikyan

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Carola Suárez-Orozco, Chair

As our society becomes ever more diverse, so too does the task of finding answers to the fundamental question of identity— "Who am I?" A general tendency of developmental psychologists working with young people from diverse backgrounds is to emphasize ethnic identity and racial identity over other domains of identities. Yet, young people today define and express their identities in diverse and complex ways, beyond ethnicity and race. Developmental psychologists, therefore, are tasked to integrate multiple approaches to study the identity development of the "whole person." This dissertation, therefore, adopted a "whole person" approach and an ecological perspective to address two research questions: (1) *How* important do

young adults from diverse backgrounds consider their identities across various contexts? and (2) *How* do young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important across various contexts? The Multidimensional-Identities-Qualitatative-Quantitative-Questionnaire (MiQQ) was administered to a diverse sample of 220 young adults (*M* age = 23) to collect information about their identities and experiences across various contexts and to assess the importance of these identities.

Findings indicated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may consider an array of identities meaningful and important when defining themselves across contexts. Moreover, the relative importance of these identities also varied across contexts. Findings also demonstrated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may express their identities in ways to communicate to others their growing sense of maturity/autonomy, relatedness/belongingness, efficacy, self-esteem, and social responsibility. They may also express their identities to honor and empower the self and others, as well as to conform to and resist social norms and standards. Taken together, these findings highlighted the significance of adopting a "whole person" approach and an ecological perspective to understand the unique as well as the shared identity experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

The dissertation of Minas Michikyan is approved.

Teresa L. McCarty

Christina A. Christie

Kaveri Subrahmanyam

Carola E. Suárez-Orozco, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

Շնորհակալություն իմ ընտանիքին: Սիրում եմ ձեզ ընտմիշտ:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful for a community of people who supported me through this journey. I simply would not be here without them.

The greatest fortune in life is that I have a loving family. You are a wonderful reminder of what is important in life! Thank you for your unconditional love. This journey would not be meaningful without your unwavering support, your enduring stories, and without your *Gyumrva humor*. A warm thank you to my mom and dad, and to my sisters, who never doubted that I could do this…I did it! A warm thank you also to my nieces and nephew. You inspire me! Thank you to my extended family for their love and support. A special thank you to my late great aunt, who instilled in me the love of learning. To my *family*, I dedicate this to you.

Thank you to my dear friends. You made graduate school more meaningful with your inspirational and intellectual talks and texts!

A special thank you to the many people who inspired me and who taught me little and big lessons of academia. Thank you to my advisor, Dr. Carola Suárez-Orozco, for her support and guidance. Thank you for believing in me. Thank you to Dr. Teresa McCarty. Your course in qualitative methodology was one of the most thought-provoking and enjoyable courses I took in my graduate career. The integrity with which you give voice to the human story is unmatched. A special thank you to the faculty members who were instrumental in my doctoral journey: Dr. Kaveri Subrahmanyam, Dr. Christina Christie, Dr. Patricia Greenfield, and Dr. Jessica Dennis. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Subrahmanyam for her enduring support.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Minas Michikyan
Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION & DEGREE

	Master of Arts	**Bachelor of Arts**
Human Development & Psychology	Psychology	Psychology
UCLA	2011 CAL STATE LA	2009 CAL STATE LA

POSITIONS

	Lecturer	CAL STATE LA
2012 –	Department of Psychology	
2018 –	Department of Child and Family Studies	
2012 – 16	Department of Biological Sciences	

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

1. **Michikyan, M**. (2019). Depression symptoms and negative online disclosure among young adults in college: A mixed-methods approach. *Journal of Mental Health*, 1-9.
2. **Michikyan, M.**, & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2017). Enacted identities of immigrant-origin emerging adult women in online contexts: Capturing multiple and intersecting identities using qualitative strategies. *Identity, 17*(3), 138-155.
3. Suárez-Orozco, M., & **Michikyan, M**. (2016). Education for citizenship in the age of globalization and mass migration [Introduction]. In J. A. Banks, M. Suárez-Orozco, & M. Ben-Peretz (Eds.), *Global migration, diversity, and civic education* (pp. 1-25). New York, NY: Teacher College Press.
4. **Michikyan, M**., Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2015). A picture is worth a thousand words*:* A mixed-methods study of online self-presentation of identities and affective states in a multi-ethnic sample of emerging adults. *Identity, 15*(4), 287-308.
5. Suárez-Orozco, C., Katsiaficas, D., Birchall, O., Alcantar, C.M., Hernandez, E., Garcia, Y. **Michikyan, M.**, Cerda, J., & Teranishi, R.T. (2015). Undocumented undergraduates on college campuses: Understanding their challenges, assets, and what it takes to make an undocufriendly campus. *Harvard Educational Review, 85*(3), 427-463.
6. **Michikyan, M.,** Lozada, F. T., Weidenbenner, J. V., & Tynes, B. M. (2015). Adolescent coping strategies in the face of their "worst online experience". *International Journal of Gaming and Computer-Mediated Simulations (IJGCMS), 6*(4), 1-16.
7. **Michikyan, M**., Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2015). A mixed-methods study of Facebook use and academic performance in a multi-ethnic U.S.-based college sample. *Computers in Human Behavior, 45*, 265-272.
8. Subrahmanyam, K., Greenfield, P., & **Michikyan, M**. (2015). Una actualización de las investigaciones acerca de la comunicación electrónica y relaciones adolescentes. *Infoamérica*: *Iberoamerican Communication Review, 9*, 115-130.
9. **Michikyan, M**., Dennis, J., & Subrahmanyam, K. (2014). Can you guess who I am? Real, ideal, and false self presentation on Facebook among emerging adults. *Emerging Adulthood*, 1-10.
10. **Michikyan, M**., Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2014). Can you tell who I am? Neuroticism, extraversion and real, ideal, and false self presentation on Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior, 33*, 179-183.

11. Uhls. Y., **Michikyan, M**., Morris, J., Small, G.W., Garcia, D., Zgourou, E. & Greenfield, P.M. (2014). Five days at outdoor education camp without screens improves preteen skills with nonverbal emotion cues. *Computers in Human Behavior, 39*, 387-392.
12. Subrahmanyam, K., **Michikyan**, **M**., Clemmons, C., Carrillo, R., Uhls, Y., & Greenfield, P.M. (2014). Learning from paper, learning from screens: Impact of screen reading and multitasking conditions on reading and writing among college students. *The International Journal of Cyber Behavior, Psychology and Learning* (*IJCBPL*), *3*(4), 1-27
13. Sherman, L. E., **Michikyan, M**., & Greenfield, P. M. (2013). The effects of text, audio, video, and in-person communication on bonding between friends. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace, 7*, 1.
14. **Michikyan, M**., & Subrahmanyam, K. (2012). Social networking sites: Implications for youth. In Z. Yan (Ed.), *encyclopedia of cyber behavior* (pp. 132-147). IGI Global: Hershey, PA.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

1. **Michikyan, M.** (2019, April). *Negative online disclosure and depression in early adulthood: A mixed-methods study***.** 99th Annual Convention, Western Psychological Association, Pasadena, CA, USA.
2. **Michikyan, M.** (2018, April). Identity confusion and identity coherence predict online self-presentation. In C. Yang (Chair), *Emerging adults' digital technology use: Associations with self/identity and psycho-emotional well-being*. Symposium conducted at the 2018 SRA Biennial Meeting, Minneapolis, MN, USA.
3. **Michikyan, M.**, & & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2017, November). Enactment of multiple and intersecting identities online among a group of immigrant-origin women. In C. Yang (Chair), *Social media and identity development in emerging adulthood*. Symposium conducted at SSEA 2017 Biennial Conference, Washington, DC, USA.
4. **Michikyan, M.**, & Subrahmanyam, K. (2016, April). Social anxiety predicts false self presentation on Facebook. In S Guan (Chair), *Young adult media use and well-being.* Symposium conducted at the 96th Annual Convention, Western Psychological Association, Long Beach, CA, USA.
5. **Michikyan, M.**, Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2015, March). I am whatever I say I am: A mixed-methods study of self-presentation on Facebook among multi-ethnic emerging adults. In M. Michikyan (Chair), *Social media use among ethnically and linguistically diverse youth: Implications for development and learning.* Symposium conducted at the 2015 SRCD Biennial Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, USA.
6. **Michikyan, M.** (2016, October). Bridging the empathy gap: Networked communities to address social inclusion for immigrant children and youth. In C. Suárez-Orozco, M. Suárez-Orozco, & R. Teranishi (Chairs). Sponsored by the Institute for Immigration, Globalization, & Education, & the Ford Foundation. Robert F. Kennedy Complex, Pico Union, CA, USA. (*organizer & facilitator). http://convening.igeucla.org/
7. **Michikyan**, **M**. (facilitator). (2015, April). *A forum to reclaim diversity. Coalition against structural inequality*. UCLA, CA, USA.

Chapter 1

Introduction

As deep demographic transformations occur across the globe, the task of finding answers to the fundamental question of identity— "Who am I?"—is becoming increasingly multidimensional. Most studies on identity development have relied primarily on less diverse samples (Sneed, Schwartz, & Cross, 2006). A lack of attention devoted to the identity concerns of young people from diverse backgrounds in identity development research has limited our understanding of *which* identities these young people are negotiating in different contexts at a given developmental period and *which* identities these young people are considering meaningful and important to who they are. Studying the identity experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds is of great consequence because, identity has numerous critical implications for belonging (Hill, 2006), psychological well-being (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008; Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008; Yampolsky et al., 2015), academic integration and engagement (Cooper 2011), and for intergroup processes such as intergroup bias (Crisp & Turner, 2014; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006).

Heretofore, scholars studying the identity development of young people from diverse backgrounds have focused largely on ethnic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity (e.g., Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Yip, 2014). Undoubtedly, understanding the role that ethnic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity play in development within a multicultural society is critical (Schwartz, Rodriguez, Weisskirch, Zamboanga, & Pantin, 2013; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014; Verkuyten, 2016). Yet, young people today define and express themselves in diverse and complex ways, beyond ethnicity and race (Chun & Singh, 2010; Dahl & Galliher, 2012; Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017; Juan, Syed, & Azmitia, 2016; Kiang et al., 2008; Orbe, 2004; Ragins,

Singh, & Cornwell, 2007; Toomey, Anhalt, & Shramko, 2016). Developmental scholars, therefore, are tasked to integrate multiple perspectives and approaches to better understand the identity development of the "whole person" in context (see Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017 for a review).

Adopting a "whole person" approach to study the identity concerns of young people from diverse backgrounds provides a more contextualized picture of their identities and experiences. Such an approach is necessary to better understand how young people from diverse backgrounds negotiate and integrate the multiple aspects of their identities (Galliher et al., 2017) and how they draw on multiple aspects of their identities to develop a healthy sense of the self in the face of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Adopting a "whole person" approach will also inform our understanding of with which identities young people from diverse backgrounds are grappling and how these identities come together to enhance psychological well-being (de Domanico, Crawford, & De Wolfe, 1994; Brook et al., 2008).

Furthermore, adopting an ecological perspective to study identity development is of significance because, the context influences the extent to which young people negotiate, express, change, maintain, and develop aspects of their identities (Erikson, 1959; Galliher et al., 2017; Luyckx et al., 2008; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, Beyers, & Missotten, 2011; Ragins et., 2007). For instance, context may activate certain aspects of identities, render them meaningful and important, and, in turn, influence their expressions (McConnell, 2011). Despite the contextual importance of identity development, the contexts in which young people from diverse backgrounds negotiate and express their identities have generally not been considered within identity scholarship (Sneed et al., 2006).

Answering the question, "Who am I?" is a lifelong process that takes on special significance and a complex set of meaning during adolescence (Erikson, 1959) and early adulthood (Arnett, 2014). Within developmental psychology, the study of identity has focused on *process* (*how* identities develop) as well as *content* (*what* identities are developing) (Galliher et al., 2017; Meca et al., 2015; Waterman, 2015). Much of the attention, however, has been directed at studying identity processes or the mechanisms through which identities are developed (see Schwartz, Luyckx, & Crocetti, 2014; Waterman, 2015, for a review).

In the recent years, identity scholars (e.g., Galliher et al., 2017) have urged researchers to direct their efforts to study *identity content*—the quality meaning of one's identity and the importance of the identity to oneself (Phinney, 1993). A focus on identity content is of significance because, knowing the *what* of identity provides a more complete picture of *who* the person is, *which* identities are meaningful and important to the person, and *which* identities the person is negotiating in different contexts at a given developmental period (Galliher et al., 2017; Kroger & Marcia, 2011; McLean, Syed, & Shucard, 2016; McLean, Syed, Yoder, & Greenhoot, 2014).

An important question in the identity scholarship concerns the approach to study identity content. Most current studies on identity content have either utilized qualitative methods such as interviews (Skhirtladze, Javakhishvili, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2017) and narrative prompts (McLean et al., 2016) or quantitative methods such as questionnaires (Cheek, Smith, & Tropp, 2002; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015; Meca et al., 2015; Sellers et al., 1997; Toomey et al., 2016). Yet, identity scholars have urged researchers to use integrative methodological approaches to generate insights about identity content (Galliher, Rivas-Drake, & Dubow, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2011). Studies that utilize multiple approaches within a single study are suitable

for capturing a more dynamic view of the person's identities and experiences (e.g., Bagnoli, 2004; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014). Multi-methods and mixed-methods approaches are suitable for studying the "whole person" in context. An instrument that integrates features to generate both qualitative as well as quantitative data on identity content in various contexts is a step forward in identity scholarship.

Taken together, this dissertation, therefore, adopted a "whole person" approach and an ecological perspective to explore two research questions: (1) *How* important do young adults from diverse backgrounds consider their identities across various contexts? and (2) *How* do young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important across various contexts? The dissertation was part of a multi-phase, explanatory sequential mixed-methods design research project. In Phase I, I developed the Multidimensional-Identities-Qualitatative-Quantitative-Questionnaire (Michikyan, 2017) (heretofore referenced simply as the *MiQQ*), as a tool for identity content. The MiQQ contained an identity-expression feature (to elicit identity expressions), an identity-importance feature (to quantitatively assess relative importance of identity expressions) and an identity-narrative feature (to capture meaning of identity expressions). Using a thematic analysis of the *qualitative* data generated from the MiQQ, I identified the identities that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across contexts. In Phase II, I used descriptive analysis of the *quantitative* data to assess the relative importance of these identities. Using a case study approach, In Phase III, I employed narrative analysis of the qualitative *and* the quantitative data to document how four young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed their identities across contexts.

Identity Work in Early Adulthood

Developing a coherent sense of the self is a critical psychosocial task in adolescence and early adulthood (Arnett, 2014; Erikson, 1959). Establishing a coherent self-concept involves

identity work—a complex process of negotiating and integrating the various aspects of one's identity into a self-concept that feels "whole" (Erikson, 1959; Galliher et al., 2017; Luyckx et al., 2008; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, Beyers, & Missotten, 2011). Defined broadly, *identity* is composed of one's *thoughts* (who one thinks one is), *feelings* (who one feels one is), and *behaviors* (who one acts or expresses as being) that embody who one is—an overall image of the self (e.g., Erikson, 1959; Schwartz, 2001).

Identity work is a lifelong process (Erikson, 1959). Yet, most of the identity work in many Western countries–including the United States, occurs in early adulthood (Luyckx, Klimstra, Duriez, Van Petegem, & Beyers, 2013). Early adulthood is considered a developmental period in the lifespan when many young adults (ages 18-29) engage in prolonged identity explorations with a purposeful focus on establishing a coherent self-concept (Arnett, 2014; Luyckx et al., 2013). In fact, it is in early adulthood when young adults make meaningful attempts to address the questions "Who am I?" and "How do the various aspects of myself fit together?" (Luyckx et al., 2013; Schwartz, 2016).

All the ways in which a person responds to the identity question—*Who am I?* are considered identity expressions. Identity expressions may include the specific identity labels (or content) that a person endorses when defining oneself. To explain *what* it is that young people are negotiating when they engage in identity work, a model of identity content was recently proposed (Galliher et al., 2017).

The model draws on the Erikson's construct of identity configurations (Erikson, 1959) and proposes that young people negotiate the various aspects of their identities in context and integrate them within and across multiple identity domains. For example, within the domain of ethnic identity, a person may negotiate one's personal sense of identification with, and belonging

to, an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). Across identity domains, for instance, a person may tackle the task of negotiating and integrating one's ethnic identity with a student identity (Torres, 2003). Identity expressions, therefore, may reflect aspects of one's ascribed identities—some aspects of identities that one is "born in to" (e.g., ethnic identity), as well as one's chosen identities—aspects of identities that are voluntary (e.g., an identity as a student). Moreover, identity expressions may also reflect aspects of one's adopted identities based on life circumstances indicative of normative changes (e.g., identity as a parent) as well as idiosyncratic changes (e.g., identity as a cancer patient).

As young people also negotiate their identities within the context of their relationships with others, the relationships may also influence the extent to which a person defines and expresses oneself. As such, a person may express one's relational identity using labels that reflect such dimensions as one's social roles and positions (e.g., I am a son). Furthermore, identity negotiation is also shaped by the broad cultural and historical context in which the person lives as well as by the person's everyday situation. For example, a person may express aspects of one's gender identity by engaging in gender conforming (or non-conforming) behaviors (Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016). Likewise, a person may also express aspects of one's ethnic identity by wearing cultural clothing (e.g., wearing Taraz, a traditional national Armenian clothing). Thus, identity expression may include non-verbal behaviors in addition to verbal behaviors.

Additionally, identity expressions may be unquestioned or "taken for granted" (Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010). For example, young adults who identified as White were more likely than young adults who identified as Black and Latino to consider themselves American and were less likely to think about their ethnic identity (Rodriguez et al.,

2010). Such identity expressions may reflect power and privilege associated with social status in a given society (Waters, 1996).

Furthermore, identity expressions may also be intentional (Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016; Waters, 1996). For instance, a person may express one's ethnic identity by identifying as Irish on Saint Patrick's Day (Waters, 1996) or may express one's gender identity by engaging in gender-conforming behaviors (Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016). Such identity expressions may indicate ways through which a person "marks" one's identity and ways through which a person attempts to avoid identity threat or prejudice and discrimination (Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016; Wilton, Sanchez, & Garcia, 2012).

Further, identity expressions may also reflect both stable and fluid aspects of one's identities (Galliher et al., 2017). On the one hand, identity expressions may contain content that is largely stable across contexts or situations (Serpe & Stryker, 2011). For instance, a person may define oneself as a friend within or outside of school context. On the other hand, identity expressions may also contain content that is relatively fluid across contexts or situations (Schwartz et al., 2011). For example, a person may express one's identity as a student in the context of school but may consider student identity less important outside of school context.

As with identity, there is no singular way to conceptualize and operationalize identity content and the conceptualization and operationalization of identity content may depend on the theoretical and empirical perspectives under study (see Berzonsky, Macek, & Nurmi, 2003; McLean et al., 2016; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In what follows, I present a multidimensional conceptualization of identity content. This multidimensional definition of identity content informed the research questions and analysis.

Components of Identity Content: Conceptualization and Definitions

Identity content has been defined as the quality meaning of one's identity and the importance of the identity to oneself (Phinney, 1993). I drew on the theoretical and empirical insights from developmental psychology (McLean et al., 2016), social psychology (Sellers et al., 1998), and sociological social psychology (Stets & Serpe, 2013), to conceptualize identity content into multiple components—including identity dimensions and domains, identity importance, and identity meaning. Throughout the paper, I will either use the term *identities* to refer to identity dimensions and domains, collectively, or I will specify what component of identity content to which I am referring.

Identity dimensions and domains. A person may use unlimited number of identity labels or expressions to define oneself (Berzonsky et al., 2003; Galliher et al., 2017). These identity expressions reflect the various descriptive attributes or dimensions that a person considers meaningful when defining oneself (McConnell, 2011). The identity dimensions that a person considers meaningful may be the dimensions that are descriptive of the actual self or who the person currently is (Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008). These dimensions are embedded within a specific identity domain in which they are defined. For example, ethnic identity domain is comprised of multiple dimensions such as: self-identification (the label one uses to define oneself), attitudes (evaluation of one's own ethnic group or own membership to the group), belonging (sense of connection with one's own ethnic group), and practices (participation in activities characteristic of one's ethnic group) (see Phinney, 1990, for additional dimensions).

A person may also emphasize the various dimensions across different, and within the same, domain of identity (e.g., Berzonsky et al., 2003; Cheek, 2002; McLean et al., 2016); suggesting that certain identities are more or less important than others (Brittian et al., 2013; Meca et al., 2015).

Identity importance. The degree to which a person considers certain identities globally important within the self-concept is referred to as *identity centrality* (Shelton & Sellers, 2000). The identities that are central may be "closer in degree" to the core self or one's global and core schema through which identities and experiences are interpreted (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007). These identities may also feel psychologically relevant, may be psychologically available across multiple contexts or situations (Markus & Wurf, 1987), and may also be considered important (Sellers et al., 1997). For example, if being Armenian is central to who one is, the person is likely to consider this ethnic identity globally important and is likely to express dimensions of this identity domain across various contexts or situations (e.g., discuss the Armenian Genocide of 1915 in the classroom).

Identity importance may also change depending on the context or situation (Abes et al., 2007). Thus, the extent to which a person considers certain identities important within a specific context or situation is referred to as *identity salience* (Sellers et al., 1997; Stets & Serpe, 2013). The relative importance of these identities may be explained by both situational or contextual cues (Alexander & Knight, 1971; Stryker & Serpe, 1994) as well as by person factors – including centrality and meaning (Abes et al., 2007). For example, the Armenian young adult might consider ethnic identity important in the context of home only and might express oneself in ways consistent with this identity domain (e.g., speak Armenian at home).

Although some young adults in early adulthood may consider certain identity domains more meaningful and important than others (e.g., gender identity vs. racial identity) (Juan et al., 2016; see also McLean et al., 2016), some may also consider two or more identity domains equally meaningful and important (e.g., racial-gender identities) (Juan et al., 2016), as this represents "the meaningful whole" (Bowleg, 2008, p. 312).

Framed by the intersectionality perspective (e.g., Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Syed, 2010), people who have experienced marginalization due to their identities might place importance on the intersections of these identities as they negotiate and integrate them into their self-concept (Juan et al., 2016; Way, Santos, Niwa, & Kim-Gervey, 2008). A central tenet of intersectionality is to explicitly consider an analysis of power, privilege, marginalization, and inequality in context (Syed, 2010). Although examination of power, privilege, and marginalization remain important goals of developmental scholarship (Cole, 2009), it is important to note that identity expressions may include overlapping or interconnected domains of multiple identities within and outside of marginalized identity experiences (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008; McLean et al., 2016; McConnell, 2011; Stirratt, Meyer, Ouellette, & Gara, 2008). To denote this distinction, in this paper, I opted to use a general term, *intersecting* identities, as opposed to intersectional identities.

Meaning making is a process crucial for identity work (McAdams & McLean, 2013). As a multidimensional process (Park, 2013), meaning-making is considered a filter through which the person interprets one's experiences within context.

Identity meaning. Identity expressions may be inextricably associated with the extent to which a person considers certain identities meaningful to who one is overall (i.e., global meaning) and with the extent to which a person considers certain identities meaningful in a specific context or situation (i.e., situational meaning) (e.g., Park, 2013). Moreover, the degree to which a person considers certain identities important may be associated with the meaning one ascribes to these identities and experiences (Park, Edmondson, Fenster, & Blank, 2008). For example, if the Armenian young adult considers ethnic identity meaningful to express in the

context of school, the young adult might write a course paper on the 2018 Armenian Velvet Revolution.

As noted by Singer "to understand the identity formation process is to understand how individuals craft narratives from experiences, tell these stories internally and to others, and ultimately apply these stories to knowledge of self, other and the world in general" (2004, p. 438). Thus, when addressing the question, Who am I?, a person may narrate self-defining stories or *narrative identity* whereby one derives meaning from one's identities and experiences (McAdams & McLean, 2013).

Narrative identity, therefore, may reflect expressions of identities that reflect global meaning and situational meaning (Park, 2013). Global meaning of narrative identity may reflect one's derived meaning of identities and experiences connecting the past, the present, and the future (e.g., elements of life story) (McAdams & McLean, 2013; Park, 2013). Situational meaning of narrative identity may reflect one's derived meaning of identities and experiences within a specific context or situation (e.g., elements of situated stories) (McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007; Park, 2013).

As with the *storyteller*, the narrative identity becomes complex across developmental time. From a developmental perspective, the complexity and coherency of one's narrative identity may reflect the young adult's cognitive abilities to represent the self in increasingly abstract ways and to think about the intersections of their multiple identities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). At the same time, the complexity and coherency of narrative identity in early adulthood may also reflect the young adult's diverse meaningful identity experiences (Fivush, Habermas, Waters, & Zaman, 2011). Therefore, *narrative identities* may also reflect the young adult's negotiation of multiple identities and intersectional (marginalized) identity experiences

(Dahl & Galliher, 2012; Galliher et al., 2017). The narrative identities within marginalized identity experiences may be situated in privilege and power relations implied by social structures and groups that are not always explicit. As it was beyond the scope of this dissertation, I did not consider an explicit analysis of intersectional experiences.

Defining the Context

Because different components of identity content are more or less or equally relevant at different developmental life periods and in different contexts (Galliher et al., 2017; Luyckx et al., 2013; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca, & Ritchie, 2013; Shelton & Sellers, 2000), it was important to situate identity content within context. In this research project, I considered several contexts. The temporal context was the developmental life period (i.e., early adulthood). As noted earlier, early adulthood is a time of prolific identity explorations when young adults seek to address the fundamental identity question, *Who am I?* (Luyckx et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2013). Thus, early adulthood as a temporal context was relevant for studying the identity experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds in early adulthood. Moreover, situating identity content in temporal context assisted in identifying the unique identity experiences as well as the shared identity experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds in early adulthood. Furthermore, I also considered the bioecological context—*sense of overall self*, their *sense of self with others*, and their *sense of self in specific ecological contexts*—in which identities are defined, negotiated, and expressed (Galliher et al., 2017).

In sum, a review of the identity development literature has indicated an urgency for research to examine identity content and a need to use a multidimensional approach to study identity content in order to further our understanding of the identities that young people consider meaningful and important in different contexts and at a given developmental life period (Galliher et al., 2017). A review of the literature has also demonstrated that, as young adults in early

adulthood engage in identity work, they negotiate the various dimensions of their identities across contexts and integrate them within their self-concept. In so doing, young adults may use different identity labels to define and express themselves. These expressions of identities may vary in relative importance within the self-concept and across various contexts and across time. To make meaning of their identities and experiences, young adults may construct evolving narrative identities.

Therefore, to capture the identities young adults from diverse backgrounds may consider meaningful and important to express when defining themselves across contexts, it was critical to consider a multidimensional definition of identity content that included such components as identity *dimensions* and *domains*, identity *importance*, and identity *meaning*. This multidimensional conceptualization of identity content was aligned with a "whole person" approach to study the identities and experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds. The dissertation research questions were as follows:

RQ1: How important do young adults from diverse backgrounds consider their identities across various contexts?

RQ2: How do young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important across various contexts?

Chapter 2

Method

Project Design

This dissertation was part of a multi-phase, explanatory sequential mixed-methods design research project (see Figure 1). In Phase I, I developed the MiQQ and generated both *qualitative* and *quantitative* data on identity content. I also employed a deductive (theory-driven) and an inductive (data-driven) thematic analysis to explore: *Which* identities do young adults from diverse backgrounds express across various contexts? Using this data set, in Phase II and Phase III, I addressed the dissertation research questions. In Phase II, I quantitized or transformed the qualitative data into quantitative data (Sandelowski, 2000) and employed a descriptive analysis to examine (RQ1): *How* important do young adults from diverse backgrounds consider their identities across various contexts? In Phase III, I used an instrumental case study approach with narrative analysis to explore (RQ2): *How* do young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important across various contexts?

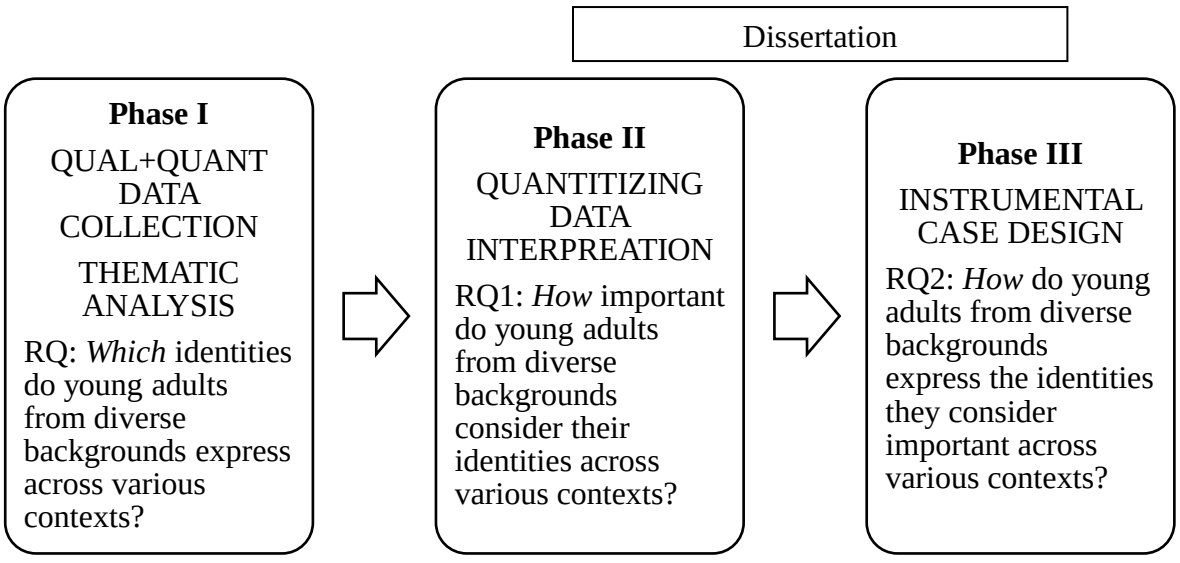


Figure 1. Phases of Research Project

Data Collection Site

The data were collected from Cal State LA, a public university in the California State University system located in the eastern region of Los Angeles. Cal State LA serves a diverse student body. As of Spring 2019, 25,131 students were enrolled and were classified as: (female = 58.5%, male = 41.5%; American Indian = 0.2%, Asian = 13.0%, Black = 3.6%, Hispanic = 65.3%, White = 6.3%, two or more ethnicities/races = 1.6%, international students = 7.4%; unknown ethnic/racial classification = 2.6%). Approximately 57% of the enrolled students were classified as first-generation to attend college and about 81% had full-time enrollment. (For additional campus demographic information, see Cal State LA Student Enrollment, 2019.)

Data Collection Design

A concurrent mixed-method equal status data collection design (QUAL+QUANT+QUAL) was used (see Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005). Specifically, the qualitative and the quantitative data were collected at the same time using the MiQQ. This design method was appropriate for identifying the identities that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across various contexts and the identities they considered important to express in these contexts. This method of design also assisted in documenting how young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed their identities in various contexts (Figure 1).

Participants

A total of 220 students between the ages 18-29 (*M* age = 23.14, *SD* = 2.94) from Cal State LA completed an anonymous online survey. The criterion for the age range was based on the theory of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2014). The composition of the sample reflected the University's demographics. (See Table 1, for sample demographic information.)

Table 1

Self-Reported Demographic Information (*N* = 220)

Gender	175 women 43 men 1 transgender person
Race/Ethnicity	0.4% Native/American Indian 11.4% Asian-American 2.3% Black-American 72.7% Latino-American 2.3% Middle-Eastern-American 3.6% White-American 7.3% bi/multi-racial
Immigration Generation Status	21% 1st generation 63% 2nd generation 16% 3rd generation
Relational Status	43% single 40% in a committed relationship 10% dating 7% married
Sexual Orientation	93% heterosexual 3% bisexual 3% homosexual 1% questioning
Household Income	37% - $0-24,000 36% - $25,000-49,999 16% - $50,000-74,999 6% - $75,000-99,999 5% - $100,000 and above.
Work Hours per Week	41% - 20 hours 37% - 40 hours per week 22% unemployed
Program of Study/Major	36% - Child Development 33% - Psychology 5% - Kinesiology 3% - Business; Engineering 1% - Social Work; Sociology; Criminal Justice; Biological Sciences; Computer Sciences; Education; Language/Literature; Math; Economics; Counseling; Liberal Studies; Nursing, Public Health; Communication Disorders; Political Science; Arts, Television & Film; Criminal Justice 2% undeclared major.

Procedure

All procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Boards of UCLA and Cal State LA (UCLA Approval No. #15-002021). Participants were recruited from Cal State LA and

UCLA via fliers that contained a brief information about the study (Multidimensional Identities Project) – including the eligibility criteria and the direct website link to the anonymous online survey on www.surveymonkey.com, a survey-hosting website. The efforts to recruit from two institutions was to maximize chances for a more representative diverse sample. The convenience sample of the present study should be noted, nevertheless.

The online survey was designed to take about 50-60 minutes to complete. Participants completed the online survey after reading the informational cover letter and voluntarily agreeing to take part in the study. This online survey included several measures (e.g., the MiQQ, the demographics information sheet). The anonymity of the online survey aimed to provide participants with a "personal space" to share their identity experiences. Participants could complete the online survey on their own time and at a place of their choosing. The data were screened for missingness or incompleteness and errors, as well as for trustworthiness to establish face validity (See Appendix D.)

Measures

Multidimensional-Identities-Qualitatative-Quantitative-Questionnaire (MiQQ; Michikyan, 2017). The MiQQ was presented at the beginning of the survey to minimize demand characteristics and theoretical expectations. Participants could see their responses about the identity descriptors when rating and describing them subsequently. The MiQQ could be completed in three broad steps:

Step I. Participants were asked to generate and list 15 identity expressions or descriptors that reflected their ***overall sense of self*** (i.e., Who are you?). After completing the identity-expression feature, participants were next asked to rate the importance of each identity expression, on a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 = *not at all important* to 7 = *extremely important*. This identity-importance feature was designed to quantitatively capture the inner importance of

identities within the self-concept (analogous to identity centrality). In the identity-narrative feature, participants were instructed to provide, in their own words, the reasons why they considered each identity expression important to who they were. This question was designed to capture the meanings of identities regarding the overall self.

Step II. Participants were also asked to generate and list three identity expressions or descriptors that reflected their ***sense of self with others*** (i.e., Who are you with your: Parents? Siblings? Friends? Romantic Partner?). After completing the identity-expression feature, participants were next asked to rate the importance of each identity expression, on a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 = *not at all important* to 7 = *extremely important.* The identity-importance feature was designed to quantitatively assess the importance of identities when thinking of the self in relation with others (analogous to identity salience). In the identity-narrative feature, participants were then instructed to provide, in their own words, the reasons why they considered each identity expression important to who they were with parents, friends, siblings, and with romantic partners. This question was designed to capture the meanings of identities in the context of important others.

Step III. Participants were asked to generate and list three expressions of identities that reflected their ***sense of self in specific ecological contexts*** (i.e., Who are you at: Home? School? Work? Online?). After completing the identity-expression feature, participants were next asked to rate the importance of each identity expression, on a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 = *not at all important* to 7 = *extremely important.* This identity-importance feature was designed to quantitatively assess the importance of identities when thinking of the self in a specific ecological context (analogous to identity salience). In the identity-narrative feature, participants were instructed to provide, in their own words, the reasons why they considered each identity

expression important to who they were at home, in school, at work, and online. This question was designed to capture the meanings of identities in a specific ecological context.

Demographics. Participants reported their age, gender, race/ethnicity, immigration generational status, relationship status, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status/average household income, employment status, and program of study. Participants were also provided with an option to fill in the labels they used to identify their race/ethnicity. The demographic questionnaire was presented at the end of the survey to minimize the potential effect on the participants' responses about the identity descriptors.

Data Analysis Design

A concurrent mixed-method design was used to analyze the data (see Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005). This method of analysis was appropriate because it involved an analysis of qualitative and quantitative data in a complementary manner. Specifically, the goal of the analysis was to explore overlapping but also different components of identity content. In the first stage, the qualitative data were coded into themes of identity domain. In the second stage, the qualitative data were quantitized and descriptive analysis was employed to address RQ1. In the third stage, an instrumental case study approach with narrative analysis was employed to address RQ2.

Positionality

I am an educator and a researcher at a higher education institution with a diverse student body. I have taught courses in multicultural psychology, developmental psychology, social psychology, and psychology of gender. Over the course of almost seven years of teaching, I have learned a great deal about my students who, like me, come from diverse backgrounds.

As a first-generation Armenian immigrant who has grown up in Los Angeles, and the first college graduate in my family, I recognize and empathize with the unique experiences of

students from diverse backgrounds. I embarked on this research project for multiple reasons. As an undergraduate student, I took a course in multicultural psychology and felt disappointed with the almost total absence of information about Armenians/Armenian Americans, at least in the textbook and in the classroom. At the time, the very few studies I found on Armenians/Armenian Americans either focused on ethnic identity or cultural identity (Der-Karabetian, 1980; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). I recall thinking, "What about all of me?" I admit that finding some empirical research on Armenian youth at the time was encouraging. At the same time, however, I was still disappointed with the fact that the textbooks failed to document the meaningful and important aspects of my identity experiences.

When I became Lecturer, the first course that I taught was multicultural psychology. Drawing on my undergraduate academic experience, I created assignments and activities that allowed my students to share their identity experience in the classroom. Over the years of teaching, I have noticed two key elements. First, in their discussions, my students tend to emphasize various identity experiences beyond ethnicity and race. Second, *storytelling* is an important process through which my students make meaning of their identity experiences and through which they share their diverse *voices* and lived experiences.

Like my students, I have learned that stories *illuminate* what may be invisible and *bridge* what may be dividing. I grew up listening to the stories of my parents, grandparents, and great grandparents (from the perspective of my grandparents). These stories gave me a peek into their world and connected me to the past, the present, and the future. At times, all at once. These stories survived from one generation to the next—much like the stories of my grandparents who survived the Armenian Genocide of 1915. These stories also survived the journey of migration—much like the stories of my grandparents, parents, and of my own.

I have learned that storytelling not only sheds light on the human story and condition, but it also reveals, acknowledges, encourages, and celebrates diversity. As such, I *tell* stories through my work because, "The universe is made up of stories, not of atoms."—Rukeyser (1968).

Chapter 3

Phase I: Identifying the Multiple and Intersecting Identities

Before addressing the dissertation research questions, I identified the identities that the young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across various contexts when defining themselves. In Phase I, I drew on the literature of developmental psychology (Galliher et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2014; Smith, 2011), social psychology (Bowleg, 2008; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; McConnell, 2011; Sellers et al., 1997) and sociological social psychology (Stets & Serpe, 2013), and developed the MiQQ as a tool for identity content (Michikyan, 2017). The development of the MiQQ followed an iterative process whereby the questionnaire was informally piloted and revised based on the feedback from groups of diverse young adults (see Appendix A). The final version of the MiQQ generated information about identity *dimensions* and *domains*, identity *importance*, and identity *meaning*. Using a deductive and an inductive thematic analysis of the qualitative data, I identified the specific *domains* of identities that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across various contexts. The use of this hybrid approach also provided preliminary evidence for the credibility/trustworthiness (i.e., internal validity) of the data and the MiQQ (e.g., Shenton, 2004).

Rationale for Developing the MiQQ

As mentioned earlier, the overarching aims of the research project was to document *which* identities young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across various contexts, *how* important they considered these identities, and *how* they expressed these identities across contexts. To this end, I developed the MiQQ. The MiQQ integrated both qualitative and quantitative elements—an identity-expression feature (to elicit identity expressions), an identity-importance feature (to quantitatively assess relative importance of identity expressions) and an

identity-narrative feature (to capture meaning of identity expressions)—to capture and assess identity content.

I developed the MiQQ because not many identity content measures were available at the time of this research project (e.g., the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; Sellers et al., 1997; Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên, 2008). The identity measures that were available at the time assessed limited components of identity content, for example, racial identity centrality/salience (see Sellers et al., 1997) and ethnic identity affect (see Douglass, & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). Many of the existing identity measures also contained pre-determined items that were often written from the perspective of the researcher (e.g., Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995). The use of pre-determined items may present issues concerning the cultural proficiency and the language proficiency of the respondent. Moreover, the use of pre-determined items may also present issues regarding age-related conceptual understanding of the items (see Scottham et al., 2008; Toomey et al, 2016, for similar arguments).

Taken together, the identity-expression feature of the MiQQ was designed to resemble the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). The format of the TST has been found to be relatively easy to understand and has shown to produce culturally valid responses (e.g., Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2009). To further minimize the priming effects of an individualized and decontextualized conception of the self typically generated with the question "Who am I?," the MiQQ incorporated the prompt, "Who are you?" instead (see Smith, 2011, for a detailed discussion). Moreover, asking the respondent to define oneself in ways that were important was also a strategy to "accommodate locally prevailing linguistic conventions" (see Smith, 2011, p. 251, for a detailed discussion).

Another important consideration was to include precise questions to elicit precise responses about identity experiences (Bowleg, 2008). For instance, measures aimed at studying identity in context must specify the relevant contexts in which identities are defined, negotiated, and expressed. The MiQQ explicitly noted the context within the question to minimize difficulties in defining oneself in the absence of a specific context (Smith, 2011). Noting the specific context within which identities are expressed was also a strategy to increase contextual and cultural sensitivity of the MiQQ (see Smith, 2011).

Furthermore, capturing the multiple identities of the young adults would have required using numerous pre-established measures, in a repeated manner, per context. A repeated use of multiple measures might have potentially increased test fatigue and diminished the quality and the accuracy of the data. Equally important was to capture the intersecting identities of the young adults from diverse backgrounds. The available identity measures at the time often captured one identity domain at a time and in isolation of other meaningful domains (e.g., Douglass, & Umaña-Taylor, 2015; Toomey et al., 2016). Thus, developing an instrument that would allow the respondent to report one's intersecting identities and experiences was necessary. The features of the MiQQ were designed to capture intersecting identities and experiences both qualitatively and quantitatively. Additionally, most of the widely used measures of identity at the time were quantitative (e.g., Scottham et al., 2008) and they did not leave room for the respondent to narrate one's identity experiences in context. The identity-narrative feature of the MiQQ, therefore, was developed to allow the respondent to go beyond identity dimensions and to share the meaning of these identities and experiences in local terms and from the perspective of the respondent.

As semi-structured approaches may be appropriate for identifying the domains of the constructs under study (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013), the MiQQ was designed as a semi-structured questionnaire—combining both qualitative and quantitative features—to elicit data on identity content from the perspective of the young adults from diverse backgrounds. The semi-structured design of the MiQQ complemented multiple analytical techniques – including thematic analysis and intersectional quantitative analysis (Covarrubias, 2011).

Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach

In addition to developing the MiQQ in Phase I, I also employed a deductive and an inductive thematic analysis to explore *which* identities young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across various contexts. The conceptualization of identity content (i.e., dimensions, domains, importance, and meaning) informed the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis involved searching the data for themes and patterns of meaning that appeared essential and using the emerging themes as the categories for analysis (Saldaña, 2013). The thematic analysis was appropriate for identifying the identity domains that were culturally and developmentally appropriate for the population being studied (Schwartz, Luyckx, & Crocetti, 2014). Specifically, the deductive/inductive thematic analysis revealed the identity *domains* that young adults from diverse background may consider meaningful across various contexts when defining themselves.

Moreover, the thematic analysis also provided preliminary evidence for the credibility/trustworthiness of the data and the MiQQ (see Shenton, 2004). Credibility or trustworthiness may be established in part from demonstrating the steps in the analytical process (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Therefore, to demonstrate credibility of the research data and the MiQQ, the thematic analysis involved a set of systematic process and transparent procedures (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Shenton, 2004): (1) data preparation and organization, (2) code/codebook development, (3) coding and establishing reliability of codes, (4) identification of

themes/patterns, and (5) coding all data. Making research data, analytic processes, and interpretations transparent allowed for independent judgments about the reasoning and the study.

Preparing and organizing data. The MiQQ was used to generate both qualitative and quantitative data. The data came from the identity-expression feature, the identity-importance feature, and from the identity-narrative feature. Each participant provided at least one identity expression (except to the questions regarding sibling, romantic partner, and online).[1]

Approximately, 8,105 qualitative responses were coded. Defining the unit of analysis and the coding unit is fundamental (Boyatzis, 1998; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Here, the unit of analysis was the *domain* of identities. The coding unit was the textual responses to the identity-expression feature and the identity-narrative feature. The text contained a word, a phrase, and a sentence (Polit & Beck, 2004). The rationale for considering the text from both the identity-expression feature and the identity-narrative feature, as a whole, was to avoid fragmentation when considering too narrow of a unit (e.g., a word) (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The text, as a coding unit, was also suitable for uncovering adequate depth of the meanings ascribed to each self-chosen identity expression. This approach also minimized ambiguity in participants' responses and potentially reduced an outsider bias. The text reflected elements of identity content per three categories: (1) *overall sense of self* (i.e., who the person was in general), (2) *sense of self with others* (i.e.; who the person was with parents, siblings, friends, romantic partners, and (3) *sense of self in specific ecological contexts* (i.e., who one was at home, in school, at work, and online).

[1] Not all items needed a response; participants who did not have a sibling and/or a romantic partner and who did not have a social media profile online, for example, were likely to leave items pertaining to these categories blank. Such missing data were due to legitimate skip patterns (Williams, 2015). In this case, although the missing response may be related to the specific question asked, it was not related to the response itself.

Codes and codebooks. A codebook contained a set of codes, definitions, and examples. Codes were defined as ‘‘tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study’’ (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56).

A codebook was vital for analyzing qualitative data because they provided a standardized operationalization of the codes (e.g., Saldaña, 2013). An earlier version of the codebook was created based on prior developmental research (e.g., Michikyan, Subrahmanyam, & Dennis, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2013). The version of the codebook used in this dissertation contained meta-codes (identity domain categories), sub-codes (identity dimension categories), and definitions.

In Step I, the earlier version of the codebook was further developed by deductively and inductively coding a random sample of 180 responses about the overall self (6 participants X 30 responses). During initial coding, a senior coder and I also identified additional codes that emerged from the data. Sub-coding as a method helped to uncover additional emerging sub-codes or dimensions nested within a meta-code or an identity domain (e.g., the sub-code, *proud*, as a dimension of ethnic identity, was grouped under the meta-code, *ethnic identity* domain, to reflect ethnic pride). The coder and I reviewed and discussed all codes as well as refined a few of the sub-codes by adding inclusion/exclusion criteria. The emerging and recurring codes that were deemed meaningful were added to the second version of the codebook.

In Step II, I employed a combination of purposeful sampling strategies to further develop the codes and the codebook: criterion sampling and random-purposeful sampling. Criterion sampling was based on preconceived criteria of importance (Sandelowski, 2000). Random-purposeful sampling was appropriate for selecting cases from a large sample of responses (i.e., 8,060 qualitative responses) (Sandelowski, 2000). As researchers recommend sampling 10-20%

of the data for intercoder reliability or consistency in assigning codes to the data by independent coders (Joffe, 2011), about 20% of the sample responses were randomly selected from the three context categories.

A pilot sample of 1,559 qualitative responses—600 about who the person was overall; 479 about who the person was with parent, siblings, friends, and romantic partners; and 480 about who the person was at home, in school, at work, and online—were used to further develop the codes, to code, and to establish intercoder reliability.

Two coders were trained on the use of the codebook. The coders and I read and re-read the responses from the pilot sample. Next, we reviewed and discussed the coding categories and noted additional emerging codes. During this initial coding, it became apparent that other coding methods such as process coding and simultaneous coding were needed. Process coding was particularly appropriate to code the responses across contexts as the meanings that participant ascribed to their identity expression often appeared to be, "things [they] do rather than something people have" (Willig, 2008, p. 164). To determine intersecting identities, the coders and I examined whether and how two or more identities were explicitly and implicitly interconnected to each other and how they were expressed within context (e.g., Stirratt et al., 2008). For this, simultaneous coding was used to identify intersecting identity expressions/dimensions that were nested within two or more identity domains (e.g., a feminist woman = dimensions of gender and feminist identities).

The meta-code, intersecting identities, was added to the codebook because it was deemed meaningful, particularly as people define their identities in intersecting ways to represent "the meaningful whole" (Bowleg, 2018, p. 312). It is recommended that coding categories be mutually exclusive to guard against the violation of assumptions of statistical procedures

(Weber, 1990). All responses that contained references to more than one identity domain, therefore, were coded under intersecting identities meta-code category. This coding category was later unpacked to identify the intersecting domains of identity. Coding reached thematic/data saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015)—no more emergent themes of identity domains could be identified in the data.

Reliability of codebook. The reliability of the codebook was established though calculating intercoder agreement between two independent coders and by calculating the average Cohen's Kappa. Calculating the intercoder agreement was a rigorous way to establish reliability of the codebook (Joffe, 2011). Intercoder reliability was calculated at the identity *domain* level. To this end, a binary coding scheme (1 = *presence of code*; 0 = *no presence of code*) was used to independently code the pilot sample. Intercoder agreement was based on the criteria of percent agreement at 85% and above (indicating high observed agreement) and based on the Cohen's Kappa criteria of coefficient at 0.61 and above (indicating substantial to almost perfect agreement) (Viera & Garrett, 2005). The percent agreement for the 600 responses about who one was overall was 87% (average $\kappa = 0.71$). The percent agreement for the 479 responses about who one was with parents, siblings, friends, and with romantic partners, was 96% (across all interpersonal domains; average $\kappa = 0.72$). The percent agreement for the 480 responses about who one was at home, school, work, and online, was 93% (across all contexts; average $\kappa = 0.76$). Establishing intercoder reliability of the codebook also provided evidence for content validity of the identity domains. Specifically, the expressions that the participants listed and the dimensions (sub-codes) were relevant to and representative of the appropriate identity domains (meta-codes).

Coding all data. Coding involved the assigning of codes to raw data using the codebook. This process was circular in that codes could emerge during coding and could be added to the codebook.

In Step III, after intercoder reliability, the final version of the codebook and a binary coding scheme (1 = *presence of code*; 0 = *no presence of code*) was used to code all 8,105 responses. The final codebook contained 24 identity content domains with multiple dimensions. The domains included: (1) personal identity; (2) relational identity; (3) gender identity; (4) feminist identity; (5) sexual-orientation identity; (6) ethnic identity; (7) cultural identity; (8) racial identity; (9) language identity; (10) immigrant identity; (11) spiritual/religious identity; (12) student identity; (13) civic identity; (14) tech identity; (15) occupational identity; (16) (social) class identity; (17) age identity; (18) name identity; (19) health identity; (20) differently-abled identity; (21) athletic identity; (22) place identity, (23) global identity, and (24) intersecting identities.

In Step IV, the intersecting identities domain was further unpacked into 8 domain categories: (1) age-relational identity (e.g., older brother), (2) racio-gender identity (e.g., Black woman), (3) ethnocultural identity (e.g., Chinese-American), (4) bi-ethnic (e.g., Mexican-Salvadorean), (5) racio-cultural (e.g., Asian-American), (6) gender-student (e.g., female student), (7) personal-gender (e.g., strong woman), and (8) feminist-gender (e.g., feminist woman).

The structure of the final version of the codebook included the meta-code labels and full definitions, sub-code labels and brief definitions, inclusion/exclusion criteria, and an example (see Macqueen, McLellan, Kay, & Milstein, 1998, for recommendations). (See Appendix B).

Findings

The young adults in this sample expressed multiple dimensions of their identities across various contexts (see Appendix B, for more detail). In what follows, I present a summary of the findings—examples of identity expressions and dimensions and the meanings that converged to define the identity domains, along with interpretive statements. The summary of the findings also provide evidence for credibility of the data and the MiQQ.

Multiple and Intersecting Identities of Young Adults from Diverse Backgrounds

Personal identity expression encompassed dimensions such as personality traits and affective traits. When defining oneself, a participant expressed, "I am smart" and explained, "I see myself as book smart [and] also life smart, which means that I can face anything head on." This example appeared to illustrate that some participants had reconciled their differing personal attributes. Participants also attributed positive and negative valence to their personality traits. Most of the personality traits that the participants chose to express dimensions of their personal identity appeared to be positive in nature (e.g., kind; loyal, friendly), however, not all were positive. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a procrastinator. It is important to know one's self, and though I am not proud to procrastinate, I understand how I operate and must adjust my life accordingly." Although this example implied a sense of self-awareness and self-acceptance, others also illustrated participants' feelings of dissonance, discontent, and distress: "I am a procrastinator. [It] adds to the stress. My mind begins to wander off a lot and the need to rest or keep my spirits up leads me to procrastinating, so as to not face the realities or the growing workload." This example also implied that the personal identity dimensions that the participants expressed were indicative of their current life circumstances and responsibilities (e.g., "having multiple classes," "pressure of paying off tuition") and contributed to the state of their mental health.

A review of the participants' responses implied that some identity expressions were momentary, while other expressions appeared to have become incorporated into the overall identity. As one participant expressed, "I am a fighter. It is important because I have to fight for things that people have told me were impossible to do… [they said] 'You will never graduate from high school'." This example appeared to illustrate that young adults from diverse backgrounds may express their identities in ways to challenge the negative expectations and the distorted views of others. In direct response to their circumstances, these young adults may develop resiliency traits.

Participants' expressions of personal identity also reflected such dimensions as personal goals, values, beliefs, commitments, and accomplishments. Participants also attributed valence to these dimensions of their personal identity. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am passionate about medicine because, my ultimate goal is to become a M.D. so that I can help others as my great doctors have helped me to survive." This example illustrated the instrumental role of professionals, in this case, the doctors, in the career choices and pursuits of young adults from diverse backgrounds.

It appeared that many participants had a clearer understanding of themselves, however, a few were still exploring their identities. For example, one participant expressed, "I am still finding me. It's important because I need to establish my own identity." Another declared, I am lost. Sometimes I feel I am lost in life." These examples not only reflected young adults' sense of self-exploration, but it also implied that identity continuity may seem ambiguous at a time when young people are trying to make sense of who they are.

Moreover, participants also expressed personal identity dimensions such as personal interests and style, and personal physical characteristics. When describing one's interests, a

participant expressed, "I am a metalhead. I have changed throughout time, but one thing always remains, my appreciation of good old-fashioned metal." This example illustrated that chosen aspects of identity can become incorporated into the overall identity.

A few participants also expressed that their physical characteristics were defining features of who they were. For example, a participant expressed, "I am tall….it helps to be tall in many situations, but it also had its drawbacks. Always being one of the tallest kids in school has affected my world. It is something I identify with, but it does not define me wholly." Another participant expressed, "I am tall…being a tall person can sometimes take its toll when one is self-conscious." This example illustrated that experiences relating to physical characteristics affected participants' social world as well as their psychological world. A review of the participants' responses about physical characteristics implied that young adults may construct a positive narrative or use cognitive restructuring coping strategies to minimize the impact of stigmatization or unrealistic expectations around physical ideals.

Relational identity expressions reflected participants' identifications with their roles and social positions within their relationships with parents, friends, romantic partner, and with known others. Participants acknowledged that these familial, social, and romantic relationships played a central role in feeling intimate and socially connected. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a mother. My children are the most important thing in my life. They are the reason I exist and [they are the reason] I do everything I do." Another declared, "I am a daughter. Being a daughter means the world to me because I love my family and want to take care of my parent as they age."

For many participants, it was meaningful and important to give back to their family and to take care of them even after they had moved away from home. In fact, being apart from

family members increased the young adults' feelings of family responsibility and sense of reciprocity in caregiving (as was the case for the last participant).

As participants declared their relational identity reflecting kinship, many of their responses included feelings of relatedness and belonging, as well as a sense of reciprocity and social responsibility. Related to their sense of social responsibility, participants acknowledged the meaningfulness and importance of "setting a good example" or "being a role model" for their "children" and "younger siblings" as well as for their extended family members including their "niece" and "nephew." For example, one participant acknowledged, "I try to do my best to set a good example for my brother, so he too can make it out of a bad neighborhood, get his education, and be successful." This example exemplified that for many young adults from diverse backgrounds, identification with family was central a dimension of their relational identity.

It was not always that participants described their relational identity within familial relationships in a positive light. As one participant expressed, "I am a sister…being a sister is not that important to me because my brother and I never got along, and I no longer speak to him." Even though this person identified with the role of a sister, personal history with her sibling and the quality of kinship influenced the relative importance of her identification as a "sister."

Friendship played a central role in the extent to which participants expressed their relational identity. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a friend…It is important because friends are an important part of balance." The participant further explained, "Good friends don't come often…I have a few but the few I do have I trust and love." Many of the participants' responses about friendship reflected a sense of mutual bond, respect, and reciprocity, as well as

feelings of loyalty, trust, compassion, and affection. A review of the participants' responses implied that positive relationships with friends was linked with positive psychological functioning.

Further, participants who expressed their relational identity within romantic relationships also acknowledged the importance of having a partner with whom they "shared their happiness." Some also described that their committed romantic partnership changed their lives in profound ways, and "brought peace, love, joy, and balance." For some, this union signified a shift from a focus on the self to a focus on their partner: "I am a wife…I'm accountable for someone other than myself." This example illustrated that identity expressions of young adults from diverse background may reflect the dimensions that they adopt based on normative changes (e.g., becoming a spouse or a parent). A review of the young adults' expressions of their relational identity implied a sense of maturity and seriousness around romantic relationships, partly because some were married.

A few participants also expressed other chosen aspects of their relational identity in the form of social group affiliation. For some participants, social group affiliation (e.g., "I am a fan of Rhythm and Blues") appeared to foster social interaction. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a basketball fan. It is important because it is the reason I can talk to people." This example illustrated that expression of relational identity in the form of social group affiliation and leisure activities may increase social connectedness with others who share similar affiliation and perhaps reduce social interaction anxiety.

Furthermore, participants also acknowledged having a pet as a meaningful dimension of their relational identity. Not only did participants identify as a "pet owner" or "an animal lover," but they went as far as to consider their pets their children. For example, a participant expressed,

"I am a dog lover. My dog is my child." Another participant also declared, "I am dog person. My dogs help me relieve my stress from school by keeping my mind occupied." For some, pets were therapeutic in that they helped with emotional regulation and with increasing well-being.

Gender identity expression involved one's sense of identification with a gender group (e.g., "I am a woman; it is my gender identity"). For some, gender identity was a lens through which they made sense of their personal and social worlds. For example, a young adult woman expressed, "I am a woman…women are strong individuals much like men, they should never be seen as the weaker sex." Like this young adult woman, others were also mindful of the societal expectations and norms around gender. This sense of awareness appeared to have influenced how these young adults viewed themselves and how they expressed their gender identity.

Moreover, gender identity expression was also linked with young adults' understanding of gender norms and expectations. Although a few participants appeared to conform to the societal norms and expectations of gender, others challenged and resisted gender stereotypic expectations through their gender identity expressions. For example, a young adult woman expressed, "I am not feminine. This is important because I feel society judges me and thinks of me less because I do not conform to the social norms of what true woman should be." Similarly, a young adult man expressed, "I am androgynous. It's important to get in touch with one's feminine side nowadays." These examples illustrated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may be intentional in how they express their gender identity (e.g., in non-conforming ways). At the same time, some participants also acknowledged the cost of not conforming to the social norms of gender (e.g., seen as or thought of "less").

Feminist identity was inextricably linked with gender identity. Feminist identity appeared to have been born of marginalization experiences. For instance, a young adult woman,

expressed, “I am feminist. In my society, women are not as valued as men, and that’s why I stand for strong independent women.” For this participant, feminist identity expression meant recognizing and acknowledging the gender inequality that exists within the U.S. society, while at the same time, taking a stand with other women. Additionally, feminist identity appeared to serve as buffers against marginalization and an impetus for social justice.

Sexual-orientation identity expression involved self-identification and partner preferences (e.g., I am heterosexual. It helps me determine who I am attracted to). Another participant, for example, identified, “I am gay,” and explained, “I am out to [my friends]”, but it isn’t an issue…that’s why it [gay identity] doesn’t even seem important.” This example illustrated that the meaning their identities may influence the relative importance of these identities. Likewise, this example also illustrated that the expression of certain identities particularly those that may be socially stigmatized (i.e., gay identity) vary depending on how supportive or threatening the context feels to the person. Moreover, expression of sexual-orientation identity extended beyond the self and included one’s sense of affiliation with the LGBTQ community. For example, a participant expressed, “I am homosexual. It's who I am. It's my happiness, and it's something I feel passionate about. That is, the LGBTQ community.”

Ethnic identity, *racial identity*, and *cultural identity* shared distinct as well as overlapping dimensions. Participants defined and expressed dimensions of their ethnic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity in diverse ways. In terms of ethnic self-identification, participants used labels such as Armenian, Italian, Mexican, Peruvian, Native American. They described that these identities reminded them of their “heritage” and “where they came from.” As one young adult expressed, “I am Mexican…I live with my mother and we stay true to our roots.” This example also highlighted the collective sense of honoring and preserving one’s ethnic identity.

Likewise, expression of ethnic identity also reflected elements of ethnic socialization by family members.

Expression of ethnic identity was also linked with dimensions such as ethnic pride: "I am Native American…my heritage is something I take pride in." Ethnic identity pride was not only associated with minority status and with marginalization experiences, but that these experiences appeared to have influenced one's sense of affinity to an ethnic group. For example, a participant expressed, "I am Mexican… the hardships of being a minority group also makes me support and embrace my ethnic background." Another participant voiced, "I am Mexican. Proud to be what so many want to get rid of, an ethnicity I will always define as myself." Expression of ethnic identity pride may be associated with historical knowledge and sociopolitical ethos. This participant's ethnic identity expression was perhaps a rejoinder to the exclusionary and disparaging sociopolitical ethos at the time of the study.

Participants also used racial labels (e.g., Latino, Asian, Hispanic) and cultural labels (e.g., American) to self-identify. The identity labels they used for self-identification also intersected: Mexican American – an ethno-cultural identity label, Asian American – a racio-cultural identity label and African American - an ethno-racial identity label. Some participants made meaning of their racial identity using cultural perspectives, and some used historical lens to position their racial identity in context of power, privilege, and underrepresentation.

From a cultural perspective, one participant expressed, "I am Hispanic…Being Hispanic isn't that important to me. I mean, it kind of [is] because I want to teach my kids their roots, but how can I if I was never really taught to a full extent about my roots. I can't even speak Spanish fluently." The identity conflict that this participant was experiencing appeared to have stemmed from lack of knowledge about one's ethnic heritage and from lack of proficiency in heritage

language. This example highlighted the important role that ethnic/racial socialization and heritage language play in affirming one's ethnic/racial identity.

From a historical perspective, one participant expressed, "I am African American…my race brings history, it brings suffrage, it brings privilege and that is why I appreciate my culture." This participant claimed one's racio-cultural identity and expressed a sense of pride in being African American, while at the same time, situated this identity within a historical context by alluding to voting rights.

Some participants also recognized what appeared to them as opposing attributes associated with their racial identity and cultural identity. As one participant expressed, "I am Asian-American…my culture is a combination of both…open-minded because of the American side, but, polite, respectful and somewhat reserved because of being Asian." This participant appeared to have reconciled the kinds of traits different cultural groups value by embedding them into a cultural meaning.

In some instances, participants also appeared to have experienced challenges in reconciling dimensions of their ethnic identity and cultural identity. For example, a participant expressed, "I am Mexican American. It's important because I have to fight to represent my Mexican heritage as well as the American in me." This example highlighted that young adults (with intersecting or dual identities) may experience duality dilemma (e.g., how to be Mexican and American, when these identities may often seem in opposition). This example suggested a feeling of "not enough of one or the other" – not an uncommon experience of bi/multi-racial/ethnic people.

Participants expressed their racial identity by acknowledging their skin color. For instance, a participant who self-identified as having "Hispanic origin" expressed, "I am light

skinned…light skin is admired by society." Similarly, another participant who identified as "Latino" and "White" expressed, "I pride myself on being able to identify as White because of the privilege that I get from it." These examples illustrated that privilege is multifaceted in that privilege may be based on phenotypical characteristics and social status as a member of a dominant cultural group in a society. Likewise, these young adults appeared to have some awareness of the privilege associated with some dimensions of an "unmarked" identity and the benefits rooted in such privilege and power imbalance.

Another dimension associated with ethnic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity was numerical (under)representation of people from specific ethnic/cultural and racial groups. For example, a participant voiced, "I am Asian…Asians are least talked about in my opinion among other common races." The participant further noted, "I am Filipina…Filipinos are also least talked about…Filipinos should be brought up more in the media, we're great!" The participant recognized that there was an overall imbalance in the representation of the racial group and the ethnic group of which the participant was a member. However, when situating one's racial identity with ethnic identity in a broad context, the participant recognized that there was also an imbalance in ethnic identity representation. In so doing, the participant expressed the importance of such ethnic group representation on a large societal platform (i.e., "Filipinos should be brought up more in the media…").

Language identity expression appeared to take on two meanings. On the one hand, language identity was inextricably associated with one's ethnic identity. For example, when identifying as, "I am bilingual," the participant also acknowledged that having proficiency in the heritage language and in English enabled one to "communicate with [their] culture." On the other hand, language identity was described as a skill one has (e.g., "I am trilingual. [By] being

trilingual, I am able to communicate with people in three different languages." The previous example in comparison to this example implied that bilingual identity (bilingualism) may have a unique relationship with ethnicity and culture. In fact, one participant expressed, "I am not in roots with my ethnicity. I feel disconnected from my roots" and went on to mention, "I am learning my language again so [as] to be connected with my culture."

Immigrant identity expression included self-identification (i.e., "I am an immigrant"). When defining themselves as immigrants, most participants made references to generational status. For example, one participant expressed, "I am of a Hispanic origin. I am first-generation living in America," while another stated, "I am a third generation. Being third generation here in the U.S. is important because I am making a better life for myself just as my parents and grandparents have." A few also made references to their citizenship/legal status (e.g., "I am undocumented"). Expression of immigrant identity was to be expected as the majority of the participants were immigrants themselves (e.g., first-generation immigrant) or were children of immigrants (e.g., second-generation immigrant).

Spiritual/Religious expression was multifaceted. Participants expressed their affinity to different religious groups and described their participation in religious/faith-based institutions. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a Christian. Being a Christian is very important to me because it has shaped my whole life…the way I think and the way I handle hard times." This example illustrated the important role that religion may play in the lives of young adults from diverse backgrounds.

Another participant expressed, "I am religious. Being religious is important to me because I grew up in a Catholic household, and I went to a Catholic elementary and middle

school, therefore, learning just about everything about it." This example highlighted the young adults' religious socialization experience through formal schooling.

Expression of spiritual/religious identity was also associated with moral development. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am Catholic. I believe you need strong morals to be able to get through life. I recognize the importance of obedience to the church law and the love that shines from it." For this participant, it was important to be a devout follower of faith as this elicited positive feeling.

Student identity expression was to be expected as the sample comprised of college students. The participants who identified as students also described that their student identity and academic values and goals were tied to their family. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a full-time student. It will be beneficial for my family's future."

For some participants, education was also seen as an important individual feat. As just one example, a participant declared, "I am educated…My parents have not received education, so education is very important to them and to me." Another participant shared, "I am a [name of university] freshmen. It is important because it's the school I attend and worked hard to get into."

The expressions of student identity also illustrated their view of education as an upward mobility for themselves and for their family. For example, a participant described, "I am a student. Being a student, I feel is important because I will be able to get ahead with an education and knowledge."

Participants' also took pride in their student identity. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a student. It is important because it makes my parents proud and gives [me] the opportunity to obtain an education." Another participant expressed, "I am a first generation [student] in college… [it is important] because I am a role model for my brothers and my sister."

These examples illustrated that for some young adults from diverse backgrounds, pride associated with student identity (and education) may be a collective feeling and effort.

Similarly, as one participant stated, "I am a student. I'm first generation college student, so it is very important for me to finish school and make my parents so proud." For young adults from diverse backgrounds, student identity and pride in attaining higher education may be associated with their status as first-generation college students.

Several participants also shared some of the challenges they faced as students. As just one example, a participant acknowledged, "I am weak in writing. It is extremely important because I struggle with my writing." Another expressed that when it "comes to writing essays, I am a procrastinator." A few participants not only shared about their academic responsibilities, but that they also expressed their sense of accountability as students. For example, one participant expressed, "I am punctual [in school]. I like to be respectful of my professors and classmates." This young adult recognized that attending classes on time was a form of respect and a collective responsibility.

Related to sense of belongingness in school, a participant expressed, "I am in an organization on campus. I met friends with whom I became really close; this was something I never had." This example illustrated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may benefit (socially, emotionally, and academically) from participating in student organizations on campus.

Civic identity expression reflected participants' activism advocacy derived from their sense of social and moral responsibility. For example, a participant expressed, "I am a Foster Youth Advocate. I work for those who are ignored and labeled as 'bad.'" This example illustrated that it was important for this participant to extend voice to youth who are often deemed invisible and are labeled as at-risk youth as opposed to promising youth.

Participants' sense of civic responsibility extended beyond offline contexts and into their online worlds. One participant expressed, "I am an activist online. It is important because when there is a social concern, I share information about the topic. (i.e. Black Lives Matter, Refugees, Immigration, Voting, etc.)." It appeared that young people may use social media to express dimensions of their civic identity.

Political affiliation/identification was also a dimension of civic identity. For example, one participant self-identified as, "a democrat" and explained, "it's important because I care about the less fortunate in society, and to me, that is something the democratic party is about." It appeared that political party ideology along with one's sense of personal values – in this case, sense of social justice, influenced one's civic identity and identification with a political party.

Tech identity expression reflected the ways in which participants used technology as well as the ways they identified with technologically-mediated/online communities. For example, a participant stated, "I am a gamer. Through gaming, I have met many people and I enjoy my time playing games." Another expressed, "I am a gamer. I enjoy having competition among peers." While gaming may elicit a healthy amount of competition among friends in a form of bonding, it may also be used as a de-stressor. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am a gamer. Playing games reduces my stress."

Moreover, when expressing tech identity, the participant reflected, "I am a programmer. Computer programming is how a lot of my friends recognize me, as they always saw me as the 'Hacker' or 'computer geek'." This example illustrated that tech identity may be reaffirmed by important others. Tech identity expression were to be expected because most, if not all, young adults are early adopters of technology.

Occupational identity expression included self-identification (e.g., "I am a Retail Associate") and references to their roles as employees and career people. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am a teacher...in an SDC class [Special Day Class] 4-6th grade and it's one of the most fulfilling and rewarding experiences."

For most participants who expressed their occupational identity, being employed was a necessity. For example, a participant stated, "I am unemployed. I need money to pay for things that my child needs." Another noted, "I am employed. It's important because it allows me to pay the bills, buy cool stuff, and go to awesome events." These examples highlighted that young adults from diverse backgrounds (perhaps young adults from lower income households) are likely to experience challenges in establishing financial independence in part because of low-paying jobs or non-employment and because of personal and social responsibilities.

A few participants also made references to their personality traits in the context of work. For instance, one participant stated, "I am trustworthy. I am in Loss Prevention. Trust within your small team is key for the job." Another expressed, "I am punctual. Punctuality at work is important because I want my coworkers to do the same thing as well." For these young adults, it was important to express their sense of responsibility as adult workers and to set a positive example for their co-workers to follow.

Social class identity expression was inextricably linked with occupational identity and student identity. What made class identity unique from occupational identity, however, was the extent to which young adults used specific labels to express their social class identity ("poor," "middle class"). For instance, in school context, a participant expressed, "I am poor, and education gives you money." As mentioned previously, participants perceived education as an opportunity for economic mobility.

Age identity expression symbolized the young adults' position in the broad society an adult. As one participant expressed, "I am 23. My age defines my place in society." Another declared, "I am 21. Being 21 just means that I am officially considered an adult." When participants used numbers for self-identification the meanings of their age identity took on an outsider perspective - how others or society viewed them. However, when participants expressed their age identity using labels such as "I am young" or "I am an adult," the meanings appeared to reflect a more subjective quality. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am young. It is important because I have a lot of my life ahead of me, and a lot more I wish to do." When reflecting on one's age identity, this participant recognized where one was in life in terms of time and how much one hoped to accomplish.

Name identity expression reflected denotative meaning and social meaning. For example, a participant expressed, "I am Kim [a pseudonym]. My name is important because it represents who I am." Examples such as this captured denotative meaning because participants self-identified by their names and gave a literal meaning such as "it's my name." An example of social meaning of name identity was: "I am Dina [pseudonym]. People's names are very important because it is one of the first decisions our parents make for us and [I] have to live with it forever." Dina appeared to have accepted that her name was a permanent part of who she was. Participants who identified by their name implied that names carry a special personal meaning. For young adults from diverse backgrounds, names may be of special significance as they symbolize an identity.

Health identity expression reflected participants' identification with their physical and mental health status (e.g., diagnoses) as well as with their physical and psychological state. Participants attributed both positive and negative valence to their mental health identity. For

example, a participant expressed, “I am a person with lupus” and continued to explain that this inflammatory disease was, “a diagnosis that makes me, me.” This participant appeared to have reclaimed one’s health condition and personalized into one’s self-definition. Another participant expressed, “I am a survivor. Being a survivor is important, because I've been through hard times in my life, battling depression and here I stand today, a survivor of those nasty black thoughts I would get during my depression.” This example demonstrated the participant’s sense of perseverance and resilience. Other participants had a less empowering representation of their mental health state. For instance, one participant revealed, “I am anxious. I have general anxiety disorder and being anxious is part of who I am, but I do not see it as a good thing.”

Participants also expressed that being healthy was “important because it gives [people] the opportunity to able to physically do things” and that “without health there is no ‘living’.” Another participant noted, “I am healthy. It is important because eventually I'm going to age, and if I don't take care of myself now, I will pay for it in the future.” This participant valued self-care and took steps to prioritize it.

Athletic identity expressions appeared to have intersect with their (physical and mental) health identity. For instance, one participant expressed, “I am athletic. I feel that it’s important to stay fit because working out is healthy. Also, when you physically look better you feel better as well.” For this participant, physical and mental health were connected, and having an attractive physique was linked to positive affective states.

Another participant expressed, “I am a soccer player. Soccer is important because I love to play, and it helps me relieve stress.” The young adults seemed to experience emotional and psychological benefits from being involved in sports and physical activities. When expressing their athletic identity, some participants also acknowledged that playing sports gave them a sense

of purpose and consistency in life. For example, a participant noted, "I am a soccer player. It is important because it's the only consistent thing in my life since I was 3." Additionally, one participant also stated, "I am an athlete. My family have all been elite athletes, it's just something I now follow and want to pass on to my children." For this young adult, athletic identity was a collective identity and one that was passed on from generation to generation.

Differently-abled identity expression involved one's sense of self as a person who demonstrated different capabilities due to certain conditions. Related to learning ability, for example, a participant expressed, "I am dyslexic. Having a reading disorder lost its importance only because I pushed myself and motivated myself to not be behind and to excel." This participant felt it was meaningful to express one's differently-abled identity because it was a part of who this person was. The relative importance of this identity, however, varied because the participant had developed skills to regulate one's learning behaviors.

Place identity expression reflected participants' sense of bond they had established with a specific space. For example, a participant stated, "I am Angeleno…I love LA and can't imagine being anywhere else that's as alive as it is here." For this participant, Los Angeles was where home was.

Global identity expression was a way to promote human connection and global responsibility. For instance, a participant expressed, "I am human. I feel a sense of obligation to be kind as part of the human race." On the other hand, a participant expressed, "I am human…I have equal right as others and so do they." Another participant noted, "I am a human being. Humanity is one race, we are all equal." These examples illustrated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may express aspects of their global identity to acknowledge their sense of collective responsibility as well as to promote a global sense of social justice.

Discussion

As our world becomes ever more heterogenous and complex (Vertovec, 2007), so too does the task of finding answers to the identity question— "Who am I?" Most research on identity development has relied mainly on less diverse samples, limiting our understanding of *which* identities young adults from diverse backgrounds are negotiating in different contexts in early adulthood and *which* identities these young adults are considering meaningful and important to who they are. A unique feature of this research project was the diverse sample as it allowed me to explore *which* identities young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across contexts.

In Phase I, I first developed the MiQQ. The MiQQ, as a tool for identity content, contained an identity-expression feature that elicited data on identity expressions, an identity-importance feature that quantitatively assessed the relative importance of identity expressions, and an identity-narrative feature that captured meaning of identity expressions. Using a thematic analysis of the *qualitative* data generated from the identity-expression feature and from the identity-narrative feature, I identified the identity domains that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across contexts.

Adopting a "whole person" approach at the thematic analysis level demonstrated a few notable findings. The analysis of the qualitative data revealed that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed an array of identities when defining themselves across various contexts. The dimensions that the young adults expressed were indicators of more than twenty-four identity domains. These identity domains reflected *individual qualities*—aspects that differentiate the person from others (e.g., personal identity, age identity, and name identity), *relational qualities*—aspects that the person shares with close others (e.g., relational identity), and *collective qualities*—aspects that the person shares with members of a social group (e.g.,

gender identity, ethnic identity, spiritual/religious identity) (Sedikides, Gaertner, & O'Mara, 2011). The young adults' intersecting identities mostly reflected relational qualities (e.g., age-relational identities) and collective qualities (e.g., ethnocultural identity). These findings indicated that family dynamics and composition as well as elements of ethnicity, race, and culture meaningfully shaped the young adults' understanding of their intersecting identities.

Consistent with prior research on intersectionality (e.g., Juan et al., 2016), the young adults' intersecting identities associated with ethnicity and race reflected experiences of privilege and marginalization. A notable finding was the identity expression associated with sibling status, which might have captured unequal power relation due, at least in part, to differences in age. Using an intersectionality perspective to further unpack the inequality that exist among family members or to make visible the unequal power relation is warranted considering that people within diverse families may experience differential treatment from family members, parents, and siblings, due in part, to their skin color (also known as colorism) (Tharps, 2016).

Another notable finding was that the young adults' narrative identities provided a contextualized picture of their identity experiences. Beyond this, the narratives also revealed that the multiple and intersecting identities that the young adults expressed across contexts were relatively meaningful and described aspects of their actual self (Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008). Moreover, adopting a "whole person" approach also uncovered some of the ways in which these young adults drew on multiple aspects of their identities to negotiate them and to express them in context. This approach also illuminated the extent to which young adults from diverse backgrounds worked out some of the concerns with their identities.

Analyzing the multiple identity dimensions within a specific domain and across other meaningful domains, for instance, revealed some of the conflicts that these young adults were

experiencing in trying to reconcile different aspects of their identities. Recall the young adult who appeared to have been experiencing conflict in reconciling one's identity as both Mexican and American. Findings such as this example indicated that young adults from diverse background may experience duality dilemma – how to be both a member of a minority group and a majority/dominant group (e.g., Mexican and American) when these identities are viewed in opposition (Jones, 1994).

At the same time, analyzing the multiple identity dimensions within a specific domain and across other meaningful domains also revealed a few ways in which the young adults drew on the different aspects of their identities to buffer against some their concerns with their identities. Recall the young adult who was relearning one's heritage language to reconnect with one's ethnic culture or with one's "roots." Findings such as this example indicated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may draw on the protective, adaptive, and valued aspects of their identities to buffer against identity conflict (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010) and against negative stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (e.g., Pittinsky et al., 1999; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) across different contexts in order to develop and maintain a healthy view of the self (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Additionally, young adults from diverse backgrounds may also draw on the meaningful and protective aspects of their identities in different contexts in ways to express and maintain resilience (e.g., positive adaptation in the face of stress or negative conditions) (Meyer, 2010).

Taken together, findings demonstrated the relevance of adopting a "whole-person" approach to examine the domains of identities concurrently and in conjunction with other meaningful domains. The findings from the thematic analysis also have multiple critical implications for identity work—negotiation and integration—in early adulthood. For instance,

how might identity conflict influence the extent to which young adults negotiate, express, and integrate their identities? Furthermore, adopting a "whole person" approach to identify the domains or "the locations" of identity conflict may prove fruitful for preventing negative identity development and for promoting healthy identity development and well-being (Brook et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2015; Syed & McLean, 2016).

The Case for Validity of the MiQQ

The multidimensional conceptualization of identity content informed the development and the evaluation the MiQQ. The three features of the MiQQ elicited information about identity content – including identity dimensions and domains, identity importance, and identity meaning. The MiQQ may be considered a theoretically sound instrument as it was developed based on the theoretical and empirical insights from multiple literatures and disciplines (Galliher et al., 2017; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Stets & Serpe, 2013).

Findings demonstrated that the MiQQ may be an effective multi-method tool for identity content. For instance, I showed examples of the identity dimensions as well as the meanings that made up the identity domains. I also calculated the intercoder reliability at the identity domain level. The high coefficients of the intercoder reliability demonstrated evidence for content validity; suggesting that the identity dimensions that the participants expressed represented valid indicators of a specific identity domain (see Schwartz et al., for a review). For example, the dimensions such as outgoing and kind collectively clustered around personal identity domain.

The transparent procedures of the thematic analysis highlighted the empirical underpinnings of the domains, which allow the readers to form independent judgments about the credibility of how the identity domains were constructed. For instance, are the content domains clear? Are the dimensions captured accurately by the domain category? Additionally, the

thematic analysis also produced a comprehensive codebook of identity dimension/domain and provided additional confirmation for the utility of the MiQQ. The codebook may be used with the MiQQ or similar questionnaires to identify and code the identities that young people from diverse backgrounds consider meaningful. Furthermore, the codebook may also be used to develop a taxonomy of identity content—an important step forward in identity content scholarship (Galliher et al., 2017).

Taken together, the credibility of the data increased confidence in addressing the following two dissertation research questions in Phase II and Phase III.

Dissertation Research Questions

RQ1: How important do young adults from diverse backgrounds consider their identities across various contexts?

RQ2: How do young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important across various contexts?

Chapter 4

Phase II: Assessing the Importance of Identity Domains

Descriptive Analysis

Prior to the descriptive analysis, I disaggregated the data by context (*overall self, self with others*, and *self in specific ecological contexts*). To examine *how* important young adults from diverse backgrounds considered their identities across various contexts, I computed the mean scores of all identity *domains* per context. I also calculated the frequencies and the percentages of all identity *domains* per context. Calculating the frequency helped to better contextualize the scores for identity importance within a specific domain. Additionally, examining the frequency of the identity domains may reveal information about the meaningfulness of identities that young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed across contexts. For instance, although meaningfulness and importance may be related, they are theoretically independent constructs. Specifically, while the most frequently expressed identity domains may represent the identities that participant consider meaningful within a context, these identities might not be the most important. The descriptive analysis of the disaggregated data helped to detect broad and meaningful patterns across different contexts (Covarrubias, 2011).

Results

Participants placed varying degrees of importance on multiple domains of their identities when thinking about the overall self, about the self with others, and about the self in specific ecological contexts (see Tables 2 and 4).

Importance of Multiple and Intersecting Identities Across Contexts

Overall self. Participants reported dimensions of their student identity (M = 5.95, n = 118), relational identity (M = 5.91, n = 312), spiritual/religious identity (M = 5.82, n = 34), sexual orientation identity (M = 5.71, n = 7), athletic identity (M = 5.71, n = 24), racial identity

(*M* = 5.56, n = 34), ethnic identity (*M* = 5.54, n = 37), personal identity (*M* = 5.53, n = 2222), feminist identity (*M* = 5.50, n = 2), health identity (*M* = 5.46, n = 28), occupational identity (*M* = 5.39, n = 56), gender identity (*M* = 5.36, n = 84), global identity (*M* = 5.33, n = 9), and civic identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 6), moderately important. Language identity (*M* = 6.50, n = 2) and name identity (*M* = 6.23, n = 13) were reported very important. Further, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 2).

Within the context of *self with others*, results revealed the following patterns (see Table 2 and 3).

Parents. Participants reported their language identity (*M* = 6.50, n = 2), student identity (*M* = 6.15, n = 5), gender identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 2), racial identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), occupational identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 2), and global identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Name identity was reported extremely important (*M* = 7.00, n = 2). Participants also reported their personal identity (*M* = 5.90, n = 491), relational identity (*M* = 5.87, n = 83), spiritual/religious identity (*M* = 5.80, n = 5), and age identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 3), moderately important. Moreover, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 2).

Siblings. Participants reported dimensions of their gender identity (*M* = 6.67, n = 3), spiritual/religious identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 2), student identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 8), and language identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Global identity was reported extremely important (*M* = 7.00, n = 2). Moreover, participants also reported dimensions of their personal identity (*M* = 5.85, n = 436), relational identity (*M* = 5.81, n = 107), occupational identity (*M* = 5.80, n = 5), age identity (*M* = 5.50, n = 2), cultural identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 1), and age-relational identity,

moderately important. Furthermore, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 2).

Friends. Participants reported dimensions of their age identity (*M* = 6.50, n = 2), ethnic identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), and spiritual/religious identity, (*M* = 6.00, n = 2) very important. Moreover, participants also reported dimensions of their personal identity (*M* = 5.86, n = 553), relational identity (*M* = 5.74, n = 34), gender identity (*M* = 5.33, n = 3), student identity (*M* = 5.83, n = 9), occupational identity (*M* = 5.75, n = 4), and athletic identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 2), moderately important. Moreover, participants also placed relative importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 2).

Romantic partner. Participants reported dimensions of their personal identity (*M* = 6.23, n = 366), gender identity (*M* = 6.67, n = 3), racial identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), spiritual/religious identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), and age identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Ethnic identity was reported extremely important (*M* = 7.00, n = 1). Moreover, participants also reported dimensions of their relational identity (*M* = 5.70, n = 27), student identity (*M* = 5.75, n = 4), occupational identity (*M* = 5.25, n = 4), moderately important. Further, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 2).

Table 2

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Identity Domain Importance Overall and With Others

	Overall	Parents	Siblings	Friends	Romantic Partner
Identity Domains	M (SD)				
Personal	5.53 (1.31)	5.90 (1.06)	5.85 (1.05)	5.86 (1.05)	6.23 (0.79)
Relational	5.91 (1.21)	5.87 (1.28)	5.81 (1.33)	5.74 (0.79)	5.70 (1.38)
Gender	5.36 (1.53)	6.00 (0.00)	6.67 (0.58)	5.33 (1.53)	6.67 (0.58)
Feminist	5.50 (0.71)	-	-	-	-
Sexual-Orientation	5.71 (1.60)	-	-	-	4.00 (--)
Ethnic	5.54 (1.07)	-	-	6.00 (--)	7.00 (--)
Cultural	4.63 (1.85)	-	5.00 (--)	-	-
Racial	5.56 (1.38)	6.00 (--)	-	-	6.00 (--)
Immigrant	4.75 (1.71)	-	-	-	-
Language	6.50 (0.71)	6.50 (0.71)	6.00 (--)	-	-
Spiritual/Religious	5.82 (1.27)	5.80 (0.45)	6.00 (--)	6.00 (0.00)	6.00 (--)
Student	5.95 (1.16)	6.15 (0.80)	6.00 (0.54)	5.83 (0.98)	5.75 (0.96)
Civic	5.00 (1.67)	-	-	-	-
Tech	4.50 (1.64)	-	-	-	-
Occupational	5.39 (1.53)	6.00 (0.00)	5.80 (0.45)	5.75 (0.50)	5.25 (1.71)
(Social) Class	4.67 (0.58)	-	-	-	-
Age	4.83 (1.86)	5.00 (2.65)	5.50 (0.71)	6.50 (0.71)	6.00 (--)
Name	6.23 (0.73)	7.00 (0.00)	1.00 (--)	4.00 (--)	-
Health	5.46 (1.45)	-	-	-	-
Athletic	5.71 (1.04)	-	-	5.00 (1.41)	-
Differently-abled	4.00 (--)	-	-	-	-
Place	4.67 (0.58)	-	-	-	-
Global	5.33 (1.12)	6.00 (--)	7.00 (0.00)	-	-
Intersecting	5.97 (1.13)	5.67 (0.58)	5.63 (1.19)	6.00 (--)	-
Age-relational	5.86 (1.46)	6.00 (--)	5.57 (1.25)	-	-
Racial-gender	6.50 (0.71)	-	-	-	-
Ethnic-cultural	5.82 (1.33)	6.00 (--)	6.00 (--)	-	-
Bi-ethnic	6.67 (0.58)	-	-	-	-
Racial-cultural	5.00 (--)	5.00 (--)	-	-	-
Gender-student	5.00 (--)	-	-	-	-
Personal-gender	6.25 (0.50)	-	-	6.00 (--)	-
Feminist-gender	6.00 (--)	-	-		-

Within *specific ecological contexts,* the following patterns were observed (Table 4 and 5).

Home. Participants reported dimensions of their ethnic identity (M = 6.33, n = 3), cultural identity (M = 6.00, n = 1), racial identity (M = 6.00, n = 1), spiritual/religious identity (M = 6.00, n = 5), student identity (M = 6.13, n = 15), occupational identity (M = 6.33, n = 9), age identity (M = 6.00, n = 4), as well as their age-relational identity, very important. They also reported dimensions of their relational identity (M = 5.97, n = 155), personal identity (M = 5.78,

n = 382), gender identity (*M* = 5.50, n = 4), language identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 2), tech identity (*M* = 5.33, n = 3), and health identity (*M* = 5.67, n = 3), moderately important. Moreover, participants also placed relative importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 4).

School. Participants reported dimensions of their racial identity (*M* = 6.33, n = 3), age identity (*M* = 6.33, n = 3), gender identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 3), spiritual/religious identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), and social class identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Name identity was reported extremely important (*M* = 7.00, n = 1). Moreover, participants also reported their student identity (*M* = 5.92, n = 85), personal identity (*M* = 5.88, n = 465), occupational identity (*M* = 5.56, n = 9), athletic identity (*M* = 5.50, n = 2), and immigrant identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 2), moderately important. Furthermore, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 4).

Work. Participants reported dimensions of their student identity (*M* = 6.17, n = 12), personal identity (*M* = 6.05, n = 526), spiritual/religious identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), age identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 2), and global identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Athletic identity was reported extremely important (*M* = 7, n = 1). Participants also reported their relational identity (*M* = 5.81, n = 27), occupational identity (*M* = 5.71, n = 35), and cultural identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 1), moderately important. Moreover, participants also reported varying degrees of importance of their intersecting identities (see Table 4).

Online. Participants reported their age identity (*M* = 6.25, n = 4), civic identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 3), and athletic identity (*M* = 6.00, n = 1), very important. Moreover, they also reported dimensions of their occupational identity (*M* = 5.50, n = 8), relational identity (*M* = 5.43, n = 51), gender identity (*M* = 5.36, n = 14), personal identity (*M* = 5.32, n = 427), sexual orientation identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 1), cultural identity (*M* = 5.00, n = 2), and racial identity (*M* = 5.00, n =

2), moderately important. Furthermore, participants also placed varying degrees of importance on their intersecting identities (see Table 4).

Table 4

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Identity Domain Importance in Ecological Contexts

Identity Domains	Home	School	Work	Online
Personal	5.78 (1.12)	5.88 (1.00)	6.05 (0.79)	5.32 (1.38)
Relational	5.97 (1.22)	4.86 (1.66)	5.81 (1.36)	5.43 (1.42)
Gender	5.50 (1.00)	6.00 (1.00)	4.50 (0.71)	5.36 (1.45)
Feminist	-	-	-	-
Sexual-Orientation	-	-	-	5.00 (--)
Ethnic	6.33 (0.58)	-	-	4.00 (--)
Cultural	6.00 (--)	-	5.00 (--)	5.00 (--)
Racial	6.00 (--)	6.33 (0.58)	-	5.00 (--)
Immigrant	-	5.00 (1.41)	-	-
Language	5.00 (1.41)	-	-	-
Spiritual/Religious	6.00 (0.00)	6.00 (--)	6.00 (--)	4.33 (2.89)
Student	6.13 (0.74)	5.92 (1.09)	6.17 (--)	4.73 (2.05)
Civic	-	-	-	6.00 (0.00)
Tech	5.33 (1.56)	-	-	4.33 (1.52)
Occupational	6.33 (0.50)	5.56 (1.33)	5.71 (0.92)	5.50 (1.20)
(Social) Class	3.00 (--)	6.00 (--)	-	-
Age	6.00 (0.00)	6.33 (0.58)	6.00 (0.00)	6.25 (0.50)
Name	-	7.00 (--)	-	-
Health	5.67 (0.58)	-	-	-
Athletic	-	5.50 (0.71)	7.00 (--)	6.00 (--)
Differently-abled	-	-	-	-
Place	-	-	-	-
Global	-	-	6.00 (--)	4.50 (0.71)
Intersecting	6.13 (0.64)	5.67 (1.16)	5.50 (0.58)	6.00 (--)
Age-relational	6.17 (0.75)	-	5.00 (--)	-
Racial-gender	-	-	-	-
Ethnic-cultural	-	-	-	-
Bi-ethnic	6.00 (--)	7.00 (--)	-	-
Racial-cultural	6.00 (--)	5.00 (--)	6.00 (--)	-
Gender-student	-	-	-	-
Personal-gender	-	5.00 (--)	5.50 (0.71)	-
Feminist-gender	-	-	-	6.00 (--)

Discussion

In Phase II, I sought to explore *how* important young adults from diverse backgrounds considered their identities across various contexts. Using a descriptive analysis of the

quantitative data generated from the identity-importance feature, I assessed the relative importance of the identity domains identified in Phase I.

The results showed variations in identity importance across identity domains and contexts. In general, the young adults appeared to place relatively more importance on the identity domains that reflected *relational qualities* (e.g., relational identity) and *individual qualities* (e.g., personal identity, name identity) than on the domains that reflected *collective qualities* (e.g., ethnic identity, racial identity). The context appeared to have influenced the extent to which the young adults defined and expressed these aspects of their identities. For instance, participants considered the identity domains reflecting collective qualities (e.g., gender identity) relatively more important in the context of family (i.e., with parents and siblings) than with friends.

The findings regarding the variations in the mean scores of identity importance and the variations in the frequencies of identity domains, though theoretically correlated, accounted for distinct patterns. The frequencies of identity domains might have reflected the availability or the activation of certain identity dimensions within a specific context (Markus & Wurf, 1987; McConnell, 2011). The variations among and between the frequencies of identity domains and the mean scores of identity domain importance implied that identity expressions may take on special significance and a set of meaning within the self-concept and across contexts. For instance, the young adults frequently expressed their student identity in the context of school (indicative of meaningfulness) but considered student identity most important outside of the school context. The findings regarding the frequencies and the moderate-to-high mean levels of identity importance also implied that young adults may consider expressing the aspects of their

identities and experiences that most meaningfully and coherently reflect their life stories and situated stories (e.g., Fivush et al., 2011; McLean et al., 2007).

Explaining the Patterns in Important Identities Across Contexts

The results brought to light the young adults' growing sense of individuation (interplay between autonomy and relatedness). Consistent with research on individuation in early adulthood (e.g., Koepke & Denissen 2012; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2016; Shulman, Laursen, Kalman, & Karpovsky, 1997), the frequency with which the young adults expressed their personal identity and relational identity may indicate the meaningfulness of asserting oneself as a mature and autonomous young adult. At the same time, these patterns may also indicate the meaningfulness of maintaining emotional connectedness with the people that the young adults consider important in their lives. The findings may provide support for the assertion that, for young adults from diverse backgrounds, the notion of autonomy/independence and relatedness/interdependence may be additive and functionally dependent (Tamis-Lemonda et al., 2008). Specifically, young adults from diverse backgrounds may feel autonomous despite their reports of greater family responsibilities/obligations (additive) and may view relatedness as a path to autonomy or vice versa (functionally dependent). For instance, while obtaining greater education for upward mobility may be linked with greater autonomy, the motive of the behavior may reflect a sense of relatedness. Recall the young adult who considered student identity important because the young adult believed that education was a means to upward mobility for one's family.

Additionally, the results also demonstrated the young adults' sense of mutual respect for personhood between parents and their young adult children (Arnett & Schwab, 2013) as well as between young adult friends (Shulman et al., 1997). Further, the frequency and the importance

of personal identity in the context of romantic partnership may also reflect young adults' growing sense of maturity in romantic relationships (Regan, Durvasula, Howell, Ureño, & Rea, 2004). Likewise, the finding may also indicate that elements of ethnicity and culture (e.g., religiosity, gender scripts) may play an important role in the romantic relationships of young adults from diverse backgrounds (Regan et al., 2004).

Moreover, the results also suggested that the young adults' identities were inextricably linked with their social and cultural lives. In fact, the individuation process within the family context may reflect cultural scripts about the role of family members (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss, & Perez-Stable, 1987) and cultural scripts about the goal of striving for harmony in interpersonal relations (Kim, Atkinson, & Umemoto, 2001; Marin & Marin, 1991). For instance, the extent to which participants considered their age-relational identity important in the context of siblings and in the context of home were reflective of their understanding of cultural values tied with family values.

Consistent with research on young adults from immigrant backgrounds (Katsiaficas, Suárez-Orozco, & Dias, 2015; Walsh, Shulman, Feldman, & Maurer, 2005), the importance that the young adults also placed on age-relational identity echoed their sense of social responsibility or a sense of responsibility and concern that extends beyond the self (Fuligni & Pederson, 2002). For young adults from diverse backgrounds, social responsibility may include the task of balancing multiple and competing responsibilities, contributing to family expenses, and translating for family members (Orellana, 2009). The expression and importance of language identity in the context of family and home was linked, at least in part, with social responsibility.

As the sample comprised of college students, it was to be expected that participants would consider their student identity important across all contexts. The findings on the

importance of student identity in the context of family and in the context of home reflected the educational experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds as first-generation college students (Dennis, Phinney, & Chuateco, 2005). These findings also showed that the educational goals and values of young adults from diverse background may be associated with family goals (Azmitia, Cooper, & Brown, 2009; Dennis et al., 2005). In fact, for some young adults, college education was seen a means to upward mobility for themselves and for their family.

Furthermore, the results regarding the importance of racial identity, gender identity, and immigrant identity in school context may also reflect the unique, racialized, and gendered experiences of college students from ethnic minority backgrounds (Ishitani, 2006; Sólorzano, Villalpando, & Oseguera, 2005; Syed, Azmitia, & Cooper, 2011). Although less frequent, spiritual/religious identity was also considered important in school context. Overall, the findings concerning spiritual/religious identity may reflect how young adults from diverse backgrounds integrate dimensions of their spiritual/religious identity with their life as well as with school, as students, and with work (e.g., Stewart, 2008).

Research has shown that work becomes more identity-focused and serious in early adulthood as young adults make meaningful attempts to think about the kind of work or career they like to have for the long term (Arnett, 2014). Thus, the importance of personal identity and age identity may indicate the young adults' sense of self as autonomous, working adults (Kielhofner, 2007). The finding concerning spiritual/religious identity and cultural identity in the work context highlighted the importance of considering elements of culture when studying the work-related transitions of young adults from diverse backgrounds (Fouad & Bynner, 2008).

Moreover, regarding the importance of occupational identity in home context and the importance of student identity in work context may also reflect the interplay between the young

adults' background characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status) and their experiences associated with different life domains such as education (Rosa, 2006). The fact that expression of social class identity in the context of school was considered important may provide some support for this assertion. Moreover, as most participants were working students from low-income households, this might have also explained why they considered occupation identity important in the context of home and why they considered student identity important in the context of work.

Furthermore, the young adults might have also used social media to establish, maintain, and enhance autonomy and social/emotional connectedness with others online (Michikyan & Suárez-Orozco, 2017; Reich, Subrahmanyam, & Espinoza, 2012). In so doing, the young adults enacted their multiple identities online – including their age identity as well as their personal identity and relational identity (Michikyan & Suárez-Orozco, 2017). The traditional gender scripts and norms that guide online behaviors (Manago, Graham, Greenfield, & Salimkhan, 2008) might have explained why participants considered their gender identity and personal identity important in online context. For young adults from diverse backgrounds, the importance of civic identity online may also reflect their sense of social responsibility beyond offline contexts (WrayLake & Syvertsen, 2011) and may be linked with their experiences of marginalization (Michikyan & Suárez-Orozco, 2017).

Taken together, the descriptive analysis revealed general patterns in the identities of young adults from diverse backgrounds that mattered to them. Overall, the findings demonstrated that young adults from diverse backgrounds may consider certain domains of their identities more or less important or equally important within the self-concept and across various contexts. Specifically, the results suggested that young adults from diverse backgrounds may consider the identity domains that reflect individual and relational qualities overall important

across multiple context. Nevertheless, the relative importance of the identity domains that reflect individual and relational qualities as well as collective qualities may vary within the self-concept and across various contexts. Furthermore, the results also suggested that the identities young adults from diverse backgrounds may consider important are orthogonal such that a strong sense of one identity domain does not automatically lead to a weak identity in other identity domains and that the young adult may identify strongly (or not) with more than one identity domain.

Chapter 5

Phase III: Documenting the Expressions of Important Identities

Case Study Design and Narrative Analysis

To document *how* young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed the identities they considered important across various contexts, I used an instrumental case study approach (Creswell & Poth, 2017) with narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993). An instrumental case study approach offered illumination (Polit & Beck, 2004). The case study method followed a four-step process and the narrative analysis resulted in case expressions and interpretation in the form of a *narrative profile*.

Step I. I identified the boundaries of the cases. A case was the person in context. The context boundaries were the overall self, the self with others, and the self in a specific ecological context. (See Figure 2.)

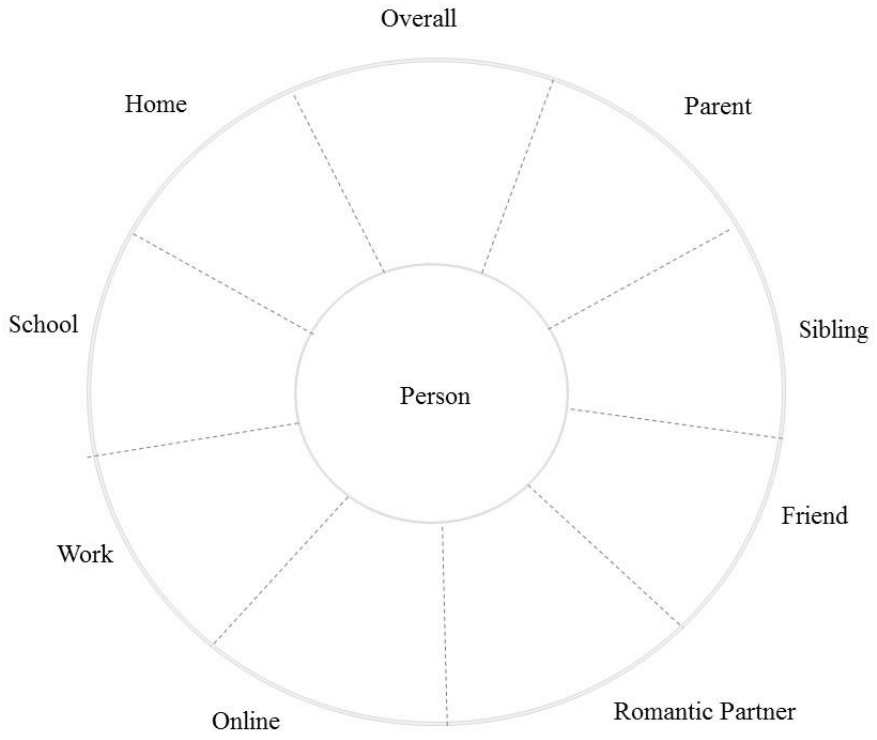


Figure 2. Overall Self, Self with Others, Self in Ecological Contexts

Step II. I selected 4 instrumental cases using purposeful maximal sampling (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This sampling strategy was appropriate for maximizing *breadth* and *depth* in the narrative identities that were revealed by the MiQQ. Specifically, the cases captured the various aspects of multiple identities and the different ways in which the participants expressed their identities across various contexts. I also explored the central themes and the variations in identity dimensions and domains, importance, and meaning within a case. (See Figure 3.)

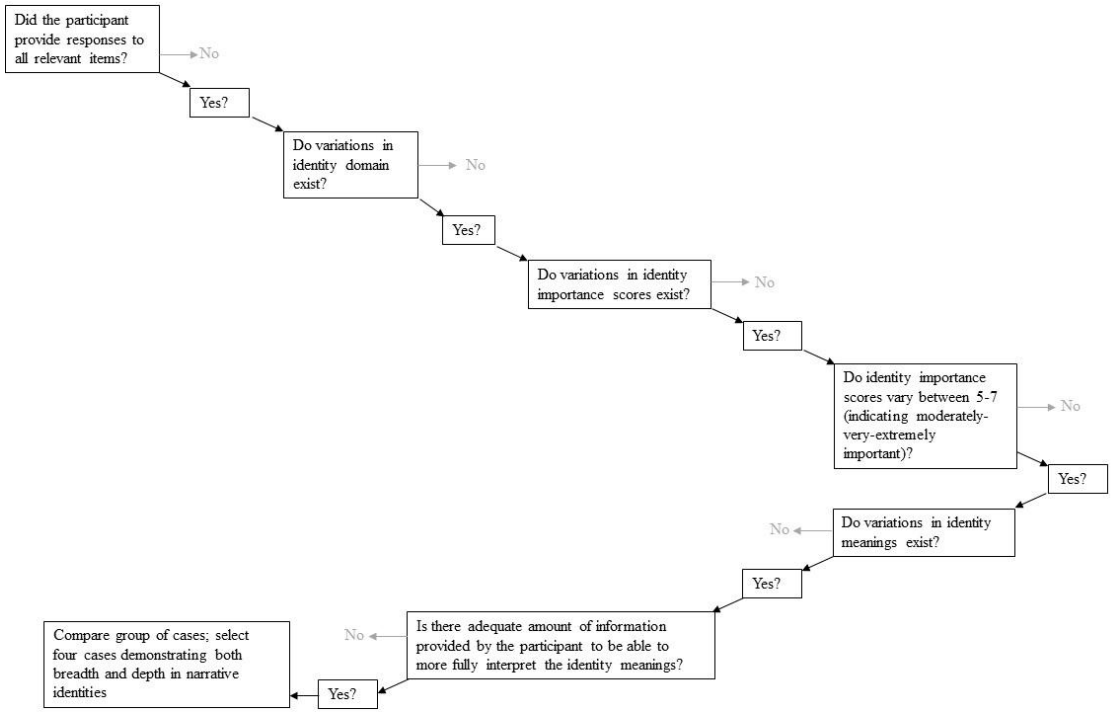


Figure 3. Case Selection Procedure

Step III. Adopting a "whole person" approach, I integrated both qualitative and quantitative data into a *self-portrait*—visual and textual expressions of identities. The structure of the self-portrait included all identity expressions per scores on importance. A self-portrait has been used for data elicitation (Bagnoli, 2004) and for data illustration (Harter, 1988). In addition to this, I also considered the narrative identities.

Step IV. Drawing on the self-portraits and the narrative identities of four young adults, I employed a narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993) with a holistic approach (van Manen, 1990) to create narrative profiles. Narrative analysis focused on the *stories* that the young adults *told* about their identity experiences. In applying a holistic approach (van Manen, 1990), I considered the texts (i.e., words and statements) within each narrative identity, in context, as a whole, to capture the essence of the identity meaning. In this process, I also used the importance score for identity expression, as noted on the self-portraits. In a constant comparative manner (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I reviewed and evaluated the texts that had received different identity-importance scores while focusing primarily on scores that indicated some importance (i.e., 5 = *moderately* important, 6 = *very* important, and 7 = *extremely important*). In so doing, I also made thematic connections among the most central storylines and meanings that the participant ascribed to their identities. The goal was to present a narrative profile of the participant's most important and thematically coherent identity expression and narrative identities. Thus, the narrative profiles included both the participant's qualitative and quantitative responses and the interpretations I made of these responses, while remaining faithful to the words of the participant (see Seidman, 2013).

Findings

Expressions of Important Identities Across Context

To document how young adults from diverse backgrounds expressed the identities they considered important across various contexts, self-portraits and narrative profiles were constructed based on four cases: Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary (all pseudonyms). The self-portraits provided a visual representation of the identity dimensions that the participants expressed in defining themselves overall, in the context of others, and in specific ecological contexts (see Figures 4-7). The narrative profiles supplemented the self-portraits and provided

an in-depth look at how Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary negotiated and expressed the identities that they considered important across various contexts. The self-portraits begin with a brief expression about the participant based on the self-reported data from the demographic questionnaire.

Rosa's Self-Portrait and Narrative Profile

Rosa was a 23-year-old female college student majoring in biology with an overall reported GPA of 3.0-3.4. She identified as second-generation, Latina/Latina-American (i.e., Mexican). Rosa also identified as heterosexual and was in a committed relationship at the time of the study. She reported working 31-35 hours per week with an average annual household income: $25,000-49,999. Rosa lived with her parents and had a younger brother.

Rosa's Self-Portrait

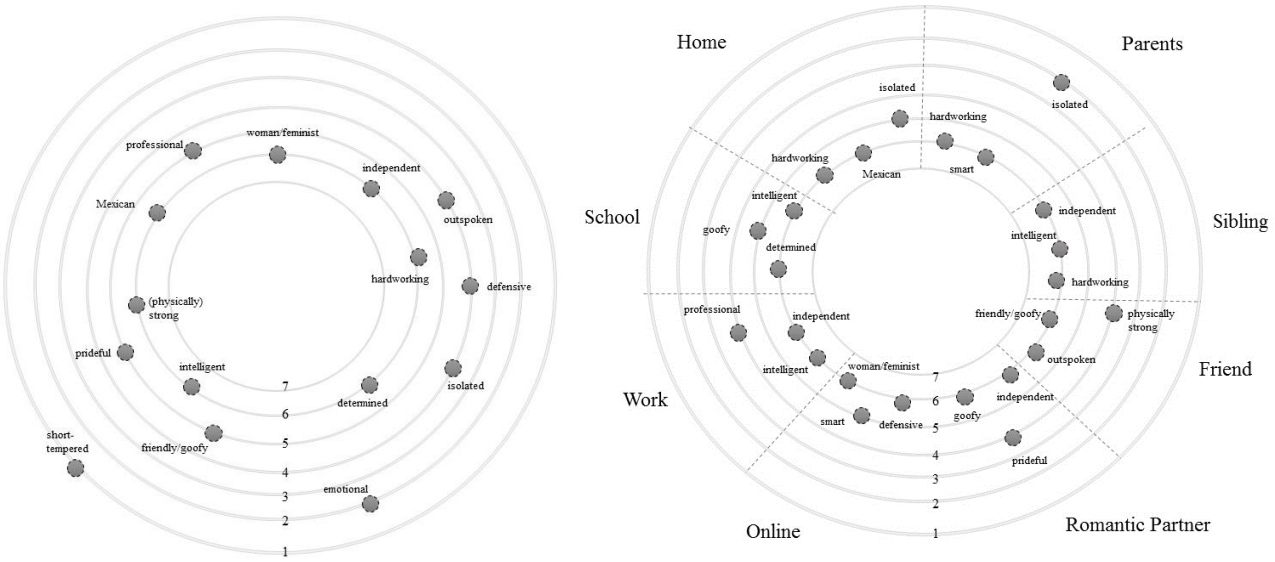


Figure 4. Rosa's Self-Portrait - Overall Self, Self with Others and Self in Ecological Contexts

Rosa's Narrative Profile. Rosa appeared to define herself at the intersections of her gender identity. Rosa identified as, "a woman/feminist" both in offline and online contexts and

considered this identity *very important* (giving it a score of 6/7). In her narrative of gender-feminist identity, Rosa expressed, "being a woman is difficult" and acknowledged a sense of her social position within the broader (U.S.) society as a member of a "marginalized" group. Rosa's feminist identity was inextricably linked with her experiences of marginalization. She claimed, "Being marginalized makes me embrace this identity [woman/feminist] for the struggles I must overcome."

Rosa's gender-feminist identity appeared to intersect with her personal identity in ways to challenge gender stereotypic views and expectations. For Rosa, being "independent" was meaningful because, it challenged the "stereotypes or assumptions that a woman must always depend on a man/person." As such, Rosa considered this dimension of her personal identity *very important* to who she was overall.

Rosa's narrative identities revealed her personal attempts to resist and work towards achieving gender equality. For instance, Rosa considered "(physically) strong" a *very important* dimension of her personal identity overall and within the context of her friendship. She expressed, "My friends are mostly males. I don't like to feel less or unequal. Therefore, I take pride in being physically strong."

Furthermore, when identifying as, "Mexican," Rosa expressed, "…the hardships of being a minority group also makes me support and embrace my ethnic background." Not only was Rosa aware of the challenges or "the hardships" people from her ethnic group faced because of the group's social status within the broader (U.S.) society, she also made attempts to "embrace" her ethnic heritage as a form of resistance. Rosa expressed, "My family traditions contribute to having pride in [being] Mexican."

Rosa also honored her ethnic heritage at home. She stated, "I am Mexican. This [home] is where my traditions and customs are a part of my identity." It was clear from Rosa's narrative identities that her family played a critical role in her collective sense of ethnic identity.

Rosa's gender-feminist identity also intersected with her sense of ethnic identity via personal identity dimension. Rosa identified as, "outspoken," and considered, "speaking up" meaningful because, "in my culture [Mexican], it is not uncommon for women to be passive and soft-spoken because that's their place in the household." Rosa appeared to personally challenge some of the ethnocultural gender norms and expectations.

Rosa was also "outspoken" in online contexts. For instance, in declaring her identity online as "a woman/feminist," Rosa explained, "I am vocal about my beliefs. I will post controversial posts that defend any marginalized groups from prejudice." She went on to mention, "[I] advocate for awareness. It is important to my identity. I am a strong believer of having even a tiny voice for huge issues." Interestingly, Rosa also used "defensive" (a *moderately important* personal identity dimension) to describe herself in both offline and online contexts. She explained, "I know how to defend myself, my beliefs...[and] at any given moment [because] some people say the most outrageous and insulting comments on social media." For Rosa, being outspoken and defensive might have been ways through which she challenged and perhaps resisted gender role stereotypes and different forms of marginalization, both offline and online. Likewise, for Rosa, "outspoken" with friends also meant being, "always honest…always speaking my mind regardless of whether it's something someone may not want to hear."

Rosa's narrative identities within the context of family revealed interesting family dynamics. The extent to which Rosa made meaning of her personal identity dimensions with her mother and with father varied drastically. When considering herself as a "hardworking" person,

Rosa explained, "it is important to work hard and keep going towards my goals, for myself and my family." However, when considering herself as "hardworking" at home and with parents, Rosa's narrative revealed a more nuanced picture. Rosa appeared to identify with her mother. The reason why she considered this personal identity dimension *very important* was because, "My mother is [a] hardworking woman [who works] two jobs. So, I am hardworking so that her struggles are not for nothing." Not only did Rosa identify with her mother (as someone who also worked two jobs, was an intern and a college student), she also honored her mother by stating, "so her struggles are not for nothing."

In addition to this, Rosa also was working hard to meet her mother's expectations. She explained, "I must always show strength and remain hardworking around my mother because she holds high expectations of me." Likewise, Rosa also "always" strived to "show my mom that her daughter is smart/intelligent and will succeed." Thus, she considered being "smart" a *very important* dimension of her personal identity.

The tone of Rosa's narrative identities with her father revealed a less positive picture. Rosa defined herself as "isolated" and explained that this personal identity dimension reflected, "dysfunctional relationship with father." Rosa revealed that the poor quality of her relationship with her father was one of the reasons why she, "work[ed] two jobs, intern[ed], and [went] to school…" Rosa's identification with her father as "isolated" might have also been a resistance strategy and a form of disproval.

Rosa's painted a more positive picture when describing her relationship with her brother. Rather than trying to meet an expectation, as she did with her mother, Rosa was now "set[ting] [an] example." As "the oldest sibling," Rosa wanted, "to be a role model for my younger brother." Rosa's narrative identities with her brother encapsulated her sense of social

responsibility and genuine concern for her brother. She explained, "I want to showcase to my brother that he could strive for better…always be hardworking," and be independent (all *very important* personal dimensions of Rosa's identity).

Aside from the serious tone of Rosa's narratives, she also identified as, "friendly/goofy," and considered this personal identity dimension important. For Rosa, being "goofy" was a way to make "many friends" and to connect with "my closest friends" and "with my partner". She explained, "I value friendships and close relationships. My goofiness brings me a lot of happiness and close to the people I want to associate myself with." Rosa described that being "goofy" at school was how she made many friends. With friends, she went on to explain, "I surround myself with people who are just as goofy as I am." Rosa also defined herself "goofy" with her romantic partner and explained, "it is important for me to always be goofy with my partner. This is how we bond 90% of the time."

At work, however, Rosa explained, "I tend not to be goofy at work. People tend to think I'm too serious at work." Thus, she chose to define herself as "professional." Rosa recognized that being "professional" and "not goofy" was an important way to enact and maintain dimensions of her personal identity that were appropriate within the work context; just as "independent" and "intelligent" were *very important* dimensions.

With her romantic partner, Rosa also made personal attempts to "maintain" her sense of self as an independent woman. She declared, "It is important to maintain independence in my relationship. I don't want to depend on someone. I refuse to revolve my world around one person who may leave. Regardless of whether it's been a 6-year relationship." Rosa also appeared to experience some conflict in her self-definition as a "prideful" person. For Rosa, being prideful meant protection and resistance. She explained, "The world can be a cruel place, so I have

learned not to let it push me around." At the same time, Rosa also noted, "this trait [prideful] is a double-edged sword." In the context of her romantic relationship, Rosa explained, "I tend to be overly prideful. I never like to be the one who chases after a man. This [prideful] tends to be a bad thing because it is also hard for me to properly apologize."

Deborah's Self-Portrait and Narrative Profile

Deborah was a 22-year-old female college student majoring in psychology with an overall reported GPA of 2.0-2.4. She identified as African American born in the U.S. Deborah also identified as heterosexual and was in a committed relationship at the time of the study. She reported working 26-30 hours per week with an average annual household income: $0-$24,999. Deborah lived with her spouse and child. She had an older sister and an older brother.

Deborah's Self-Portrait

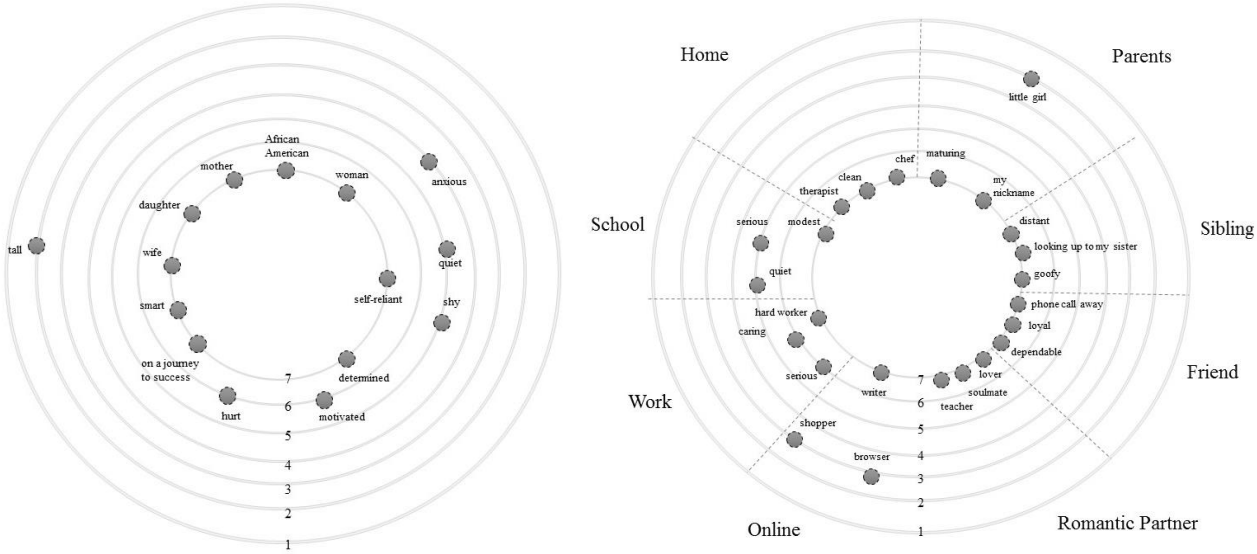


Figure 5. Deborah's Self-Portrait - Overall Self, Self with Others, and Self in Ecological Contexts

Deborah's Narrative Profile. Deborah identified as African American. She reported her racial identification *extremely important* (giving a score of 7/7), and explained, "my race is who I am. [African American] brings history…it brings suffrage, it brings privilege, and that is why I appreciate my culture." Deborah appeared to have made meaning of her racial identity as, "African American," within cultural and historical context. In fact, it was through situating her racial identification within cultural and history context in which Deborah reaffirmed her sense of racial identity.

For Deborah, gender defining herself as a "woman" was also *extremely important*. Deborah's narrative identity highlighted ways in which she assumed different roles and responsibilities in order to achieve a mature gender identity. She explained, "Being a woman is important to me because I can now make decisions on my own and have a family." For Deborah, deciding to "have a family" might have been an important marker of assuming mature gender identity. Interestingly, when thinking of herself in the context of parents, Deborah defined herself as a "little girl." However, in her narrative, she noted, "I find myself growing everyday so for my parents to look at me like [I am] their little girl is kind of frustrating." It was meaningful for Deborah to be seen mature so much so that she reported "maturing" an *extremely important* personal identity dimension when defining herself with parents (in comparison, she reported "little girl" as *less important*, giving it a score of 2/7).

Apparently, personal identity dimension intersected with gender identity in the narrative about maturing: "I think maturing comes with time and I am maturing more and more into a woman every day." In her narrative identities, Deborah appeared to have reconciled the different gender role expectations and norms and had integrated dimensions of her personal identity and gender identity. For instance, when defining herself in the context of home, Deborah noted, "I

am clean," and explained, "I am the woman, so I clean everything." This statement might have encapsulated Debora's sense of acceptance of traditional gender norms and expectations. In the same narrative, however, Deborah also highlighted her role, as a worker, outside of home. She explained, "Back in the day, women were at home while men worked. So, being able to do both in today's society, I feel humbled."

Deborah's gender identity also intersected with her relational identity as "a mother": "My son is my number one. I had him in my freshman year…I have been on a grind to NEVER give up..." Deborah's relational identity as a mother was *extremely important* because, "he [Deborah's son] gave me more of a drive to succeed and be where I am today."

Moreover, for Deborah, being "a wife" was also *extremely important*. She explained, "being with the same person for 8 years has been a big accomplishment for me. We have built a bond that I appreciate." From Deborah's narrative, it was clear that her son played a vital role in how close she felt with her husband. She noted, "we have a little boy [for whom] we work our butts off." The tone of her narrative reflected her sense of social responsibility.

Another way in which Deborah made meaning of herself as a maturing person was to reveal in narratives that, "I have been through some things that have made me into the person I am today." For Deborah, these experiences seemed to be profound; she described, "the experiences gave me knowledge…and overall made me wiser." For instance, Deborah mentioned, "moving out of her [mother's] home made me realize I am her daughter. I love her with all my heart." Recalling this experience with her mother appeared to have made Deborah's relational identity as "a daughter" *extremely important*. She continued to explain, "My mother has raised me in her home by herself…has had multiple health concerns and it surprise[s] me that she [is] still the strong woman she is today." Deborah recognized her mother's resilience as a

"strong woman" and appreciated her relationship with her mother even more. She reaffirmed, "No one is like my mother."

In the context of siblings, maturity and emotional connection were salient themes. Deborah mentioned, "I'm older now and think we [siblings] should spend time together." Consequently, Deborah identified as "distant;" though she reported this dimension of her personal identity *extremely important*. This personal identity dimension meaningfully reflected her current sense of self in relation to her siblings. Deborah was "not as close to my siblings as I'd like to be," but, she described herself as "goofy" when thinking of herself with her sibling. She explained, "I can play around and not have to be so serious like I am all the time." For Deborah it was meaningful to reconnect with her siblings. Deborah appeared to place great emphasis on her relationships and made attempts to maintain emotional connection with family and friends. When describing herself with friends, for example, she expressed, "I am a phone call away. I think everyone needs someone they can depend on. I am always there. I am there to listen."

Deborah went on to explain that she "look[ed] up" to her sister because her sister was the first person to go to college. She went on to explain, "so to be graduating in spring from the same school she did, I look up to her." For Deborah, it was "a big deal to be in college…a big accomplishment." She mentioned that she was, "on a journey to success." Although Deborah did "not know where I am headed," she knew she was "going in the right direction." She further noted, "I am smart. If I was not, I would not have made it to a university." Deborah reaffirmed her sense of intelligence in the context of her romantic relationship when she identified as a "teacher." She noted, "I am book smart and he [husband] is street smart as he would say. I

would have to agree." For Deborah, it was *extremely important* to be smart and to "strive to be successful."

James's Self-Portrait and Narrative Profile

James was a 23-year-old male college student majoring in criminal justice and psychology with an overall reported GPA of 3.0-3.4. He identified as second-generation, Latino as well as White. James also identified as heterosexual and was dating at the time of the study. He reported working 21-25 hours per week with an average annual household income: $0-$24,999. James lived with his parents and had two older sisters.

James's Self-Portrait

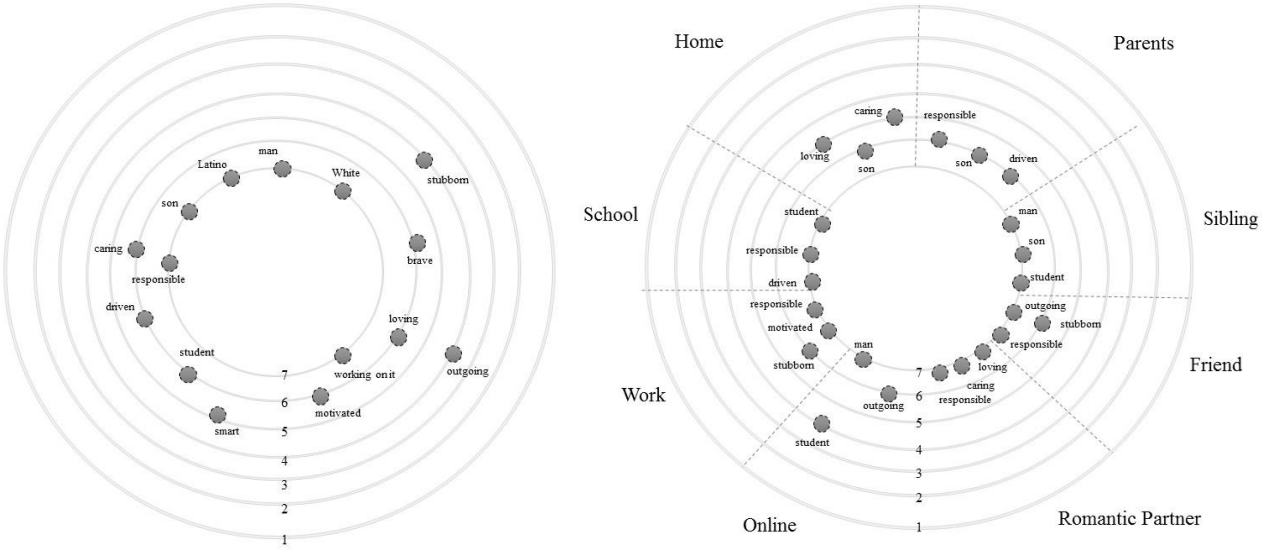


Figure 6. James's Self-Portrait - Overall Self, Self with Others, and Self in Ecological Contexts

James's Narrative Profile. James identified as "Latino" and "White" and reported these identities equally important (a score of 7/7 = *extremely important*). The extent which James made meaning of his racial identifications differed. Whereas James interpreted his Latino identity within cultural context, he made meaning of his White identity within structural context.

For instance, James explained, "I am proud to be Latino because of the richness of the roots of the culture." James was also proud of his White identity, but noted the privilege associated with being White, which put him at an advantage. He expressed, "I pride myself on being able to identify as White because of the privilege I get from it."

James also acknowledged the social position and privilege associated with "being a man" within relational context and within broader (U.S.) society. He reported that his gender identity was *extremely important* in multiple contexts and noted that being a man, "gives me some sort of upper hand." James also recognized how his male privilege might have been linked with different standards and with differential treatment by his family members. Because James was "a man" (an *extremely important* gender identity dimension in the contexts of siblings), he was held at a "higher standard" by his siblings. Likewise, as a "son" in this context, he was "respected" by them. It appeared that James's gender identity and relational identity as a "son" intersected in ways to put him at an advantage. As a son, getting "what I want when I wanted" from parents and having "a mother who cares about me and would support me no matter what" might have also implicitly contributed to his sense of male privilege.

James also considered himself as "loving," "caring," and "responsible" across various contexts. For James, being responsible was *very important* (a score of 6/7), and this meant, "I am reliable and other can trust me…and I can be counted on." As he noted in the context of parents, "I am responsible. It shows that I am an adult." Moreover, it was also *very important* for James to be loving. Interestingly, when describing himself as "loving" overall, James viewed this personal identity dimension as a lens through which he evaluated his interactions and relations with others. He noted, "[loving] means that I have not yet given up on others and I still see the best in them."

On the other hand, when identifying as loving in the context of family and romantic partner, James appeared to express his sense of lovingness through action. He mentioned, "I try to be loving of my family…" For James, being caring with his family members and romantic partner also meant being nurturing. James expressed, "I try to look out for their well-being." The fact that James identified as loving and caring was because these emotions and actions were mutually reciprocated. He noted, "I try to be loving of my family and that love is returned."

James's narrative identities also appeared to suggest a sense of efficacy. For example, James described himself as "smart" and explained, "I see myself as book smart but also life smart, which means that I can face anything head on." Similarly, James defined himself as "brave" and explained, "I need to be brave with all the hardships and obstacles that I know I for a fact will face in life." He went on to explain, "I need to be driven in order to face life and everything that is coming my way." Consequently, James chose to define himself as "driven." Likewise, James defined himself as "stubborn" and expressed, "it [being stubborn] helps me not to lose focus on what it is that I want."

Gary's Self-Portrait and Narrative Profile

Gary was a 27-year-old male college student majoring in psychology with an overall reported GPA of 2.5-2.9. He identified as White born in the U.S. Gary also identified as heterosexual and was married at the time of the study. He reported working 36-40 hours per week with an average annual household income: $25,000-49,999. Gary lived with his spouse. He also had an older sister and a younger brother.

Gary's Self-Portrait

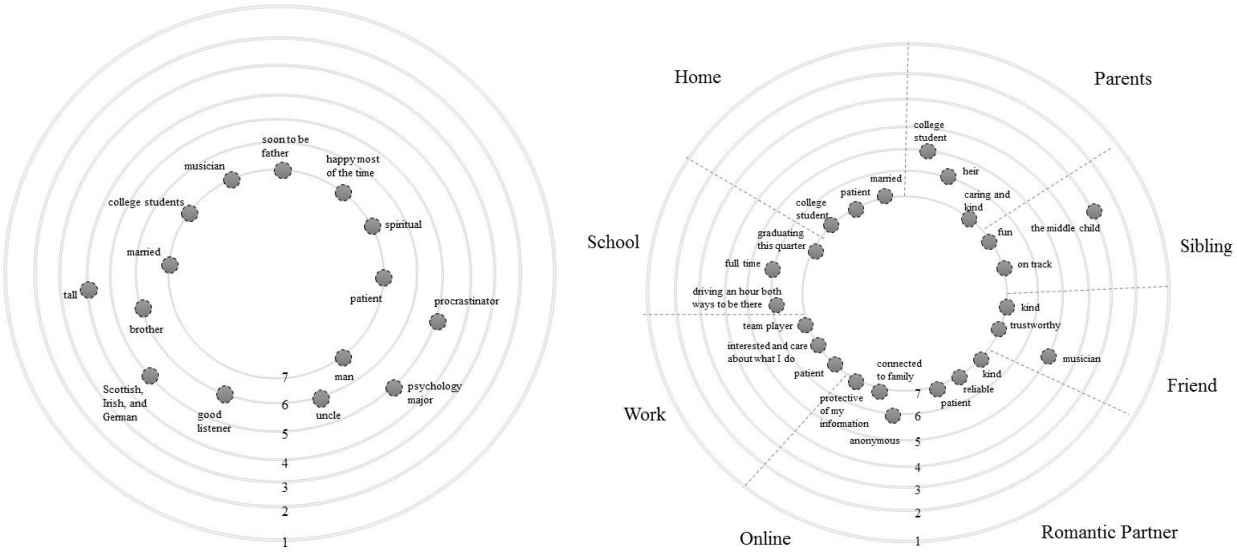


Figure 7. Gary's Self-Portrait - Overall Self, Self with Others, and Self in Ecological Contexts

Gary's Narrative Profile. Gary identified as "married" and considered this relational identity dimension *extremely important* (a score of 7/7). For Gary, being married had shaped, "the way I view the world." He explained, "my wife has brought peace, love, joy, and balance to my life." Who Gary claimed to be at home was inextricably connected with how he viewed his relationship with his wife. He explained, "My home is my home because of my wife…is where we spend most of our time together." Gary also situated this relational identity dimension within temporal context: "Our marriage is the most important aspect of home right now" perhaps because he was "a soon to be father."

Gary considered becoming a father an *extremely important* dimension of his identity because, "I have always wanted a family as long as I can remember." In fact, Gary expressed, "fatherhood…has been a goal all my life." He explained, "I feel there is an innate drive to survive and reproduce." Gary's narrative also revealed a more nuanced picture. When

identifying as an "heir," Gary revealed, "it is so important to me that I have children and grandchildren [because] my parents instilled that in me as their oldest son." Gary went on to explain that the care and guidance he provided for his niece and nephew as an "uncle" was a way for him to "practice for fatherhood." He mentioned, "my niece and nephew inspire me to be a better person and tie me to things that matter most in this world."

Gary's relational identity was very important to who he was in both offline and online contexts. At work, Gary viewed himself as a "team player" and noted that being a team player "helps to create lasting friendships." When thinking about himself as "a college student" (an *extremely important* student identity dimension), Gary expressed, "I want to help people, and this [being a college student] helps me achieve this goal." The reason why Gary considered "college student" at home *extremely important* was because, college was a frequent topic of conversation at home and because Gary attended college "to make a better life for myself and for my family."

With parents, Gary identified as a college student and considered this *moderately important* (giving it a score of 5/7). Interestingly, college student took on a slightly different meaning with parents. Gary expressed, as a "first-generation college student, it feels good to have earned their [parents'] pride." Gary appeared to honor his parents by becoming the first in his family to attend college.

Even in online contexts relational identity was *extremely important* for Gary. For example, when asked to define himself in online context, Gary identified as "connected to family" and explained that technology was, "a wonderful way to stay in touch, on a daily basis, with family that don't live near."

Gary also identified as "Scottish, Irish, and German." Although Gary felt that he had some ties to these ethnocultural groups, his sense of ethnic identity seemed fluid. For example,

Gary expressed, "I can trace my roots and identify with things that have come before me… [ethnic identity] is not extremely important to me because where I come from isn't as important as where I'm going, and neither are as important as where I am now." Gary appeared to move in and out of his ethnic identities and appeared to express his ethnic identity in conversations. For instance, Gary expressed, "I take great joy in my heritage and find it fascinating. It makes for good conversation." While Gary might have considered his ethnic identity meaningful in certain situations, it appeared that ethnic identity was less central.

Similarly, Gary also described his understanding of gender identity on a less personal or emotional level. He considered his gender identification as a "man" *moderately important* and explained that being a man was, "more of a way/lens for the world to make sense of me than it is for me to make sense of the world." The tone with which Gary described his ethnic identification, gender identification and religious/spiritual identification encapsulated a universal quality. For instance, when identifying as "spiritual" (an *extremely important* religious/spiritual identity dimension), Gary expressed, "even those who do not pertain to a specific religion hold something deep which I call spirituality."

Themes of Important Identity Expressions Across Narrative Identities

The self-portraits and the narrative profiles of Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary provided an in-depth and dynamic picture of the "whole person" in context at the level of the individual. The self-portraits and the narrative profiles shed some insights on *how* young adults from diverse backgrounds express the identities they consider important in various contexts. These young adults derived meaning from their diverse identity experiences. The narrative identities of these young adults revealed their unique and shared experiences across eight overarching themes: *growing maturity/autonomy*, *relatedness/belongingness*, *efficacy/empowerment*, *self-esteem*, *social responsibility*, *honor*, *conformity*, and *resistance* (see Table 6).

Table 6

Themes of Important Identity Expressions Across Narrative Identities

Reasons	Definitions	Sample Responses
Growing Maturity/ Autonomy	To function independently (Deci & Ryan, 2000)	"I am maturing [parents]. I think maturing come with time and I am maturing more and more into a woman every day. I am a woman. Being a woman is important to me because I can now make decisions on my own an have a family." – Deborah "I am responsible. I can be counted on [work]. I am an adult [parents]." – James
Relatedness/ Belongingness	To achieve, maintain, and enhance feelings of personal acceptance, respect, and inclusion by others (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Vignoles et al., 2006)	"I am loving [at home]. I try to be loving of my family and that love is returned." – James "I am friendly/goofy [with friends]. I surround myself with people who are just as goofy as I am" – Rosa "I am intelligent [at work]. This is an important attribute just to have a sense of respect from my older peers/coworkers/administrators." – Rosa
Efficacy/ Empowerment	To achieve, maintain, and enhance feelings of mastery and control (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Zimmerman, 2000).	"I am brave. I need to be brave with all the hardships and obstacles that I know, for a fact, I will face in life." – James "I am self-reliant. I do not depend on anyone for anything. If I want it, I go get it. That way I don't have to worry about other people and their complaints about helping." – Deborah "I am a woman/feminist [online]…I advocate for awareness. This is important to my identity. I am a strong believer of having even a tiny voice for huge issues." – Rosa
Self-Esteem	To achieve, maintain, and enhance positive image of oneself (Vignoles et al., 2006)	"I am responsible [school]. I do what I have to do so that I may get the grades that I want." – James "I am modest [school]. I tend to be very 'on point' with my notes. I understand the material and nod for assurance." – Deborah "I am caring and kind [parents]. My mother would be devasted to hear I intentionally mistreated someone, and her disappointment is something I hope I never see." – Gary
Social Responsibility	Concerns for and commitment to helping/guiding others – including family members, community (Katsiaficas et al., 2015).	"I am hardworking [siblings]. Siblings tend to look up to you, it is important to set the example to always be hardworking." – Rosa "I am a mother. I had him [son] in my freshman year at my university. I have been on a grid to NEVER give up" – Deborah

		"I am an uncle. My niece and nephew look up to me and have been my practice for fatherhood, which has been a goal all my life." – Gary
Honor	To honor parents/family/elders, and cultural/ethnic heritage (Dietz, Kalof, & Stern, 2002; McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, McCubbin, & Kaston, 1993)	"I am college student [parents]. My parents are proud that I am a first-generation college student and it feels good to have earned their pride." – Gary "I am hard working [home]. My mom is a hardworking woman [who works] two jobs. So, I am hardworking so that her struggles are not for nothing." – Rosa "I am African American. My race is who I am. [African American] bring history, it brings suffrage, it brings privilege, and that is why I appreciate my culture." Deborah "I am Mexican [home]. Home is where my traditions and customs are a part of my identity" – Rosa
Conformity	To obtain and maintain social approval by adhering to social standards of behaviors and social norms (Brucks, Reips, & Ryf, 2007) (can be conscious/unconscious/passive/active)	"I am White. I pride myself on being able to identify as White because of the privilege that I get from it." – James "I am a man [siblings]. I am held to a higher standard. I am a son. I am respected because of this." – James "I am clean [home]. I am the woman, so I clean everything." - Deborah
Resistance	To challenge/resist social standards of behaviors and social norms (McColgan, 2005). (can be conscious/unconscious/passive/active)	"I am woman/feminist [online]. I am vocal about my beliefs. I will post controversial posts that defend any marginalized groups from prejudice." – Rosa "I am clean [home]…Back in the day, the women were at home while the men worked. So, being able to do both in today's society, I feel humbled." – Deborah

Note. Sample responses with no brackets indicate overall sense of self.

Growing Maturity/Autonomy

A common theme across the several narrative identities was participants' growing sense of autonomy and maturity within an identity domain. It appeared meaningful and important for the participants to feel autonomous and to communicate to others that they could function independently as mature, young adults. For instance, Deborah communicated her sense of womanhood through her decision to have a family while in college. Like Deborah, it was also

meaningful and important for James to communicate to others, particularly to his parents, that he was a responsible adult. Thus, James engaged in behaviors that communicated to others that he "could be counted on" and that he was responsible.

Other ways in which participants communicated their sense of autonomy and maturity involved taking on new and multiple roles and responsibilities. For instance, Gary noted that he was soon to be a father. As "fatherhood" was "a goal all my life," Gary had anticipated changes in responsibilities and roles, for which, he had prepared as an uncle. In addition to having multiple personal responsibilities, participants also reported having multiple academic and occupational responsibilities. As a college student, for instance, Rosa also worked two jobs and was an intern.

Relatedness/Belongingness

Another salient theme in the narrative identities was participants' sense of relatedness or belongingness. In their narratives, participants expressed their growing sense of emotional closeness between family, friends, and romantic partner. For instance, not only did James identify as a caring and loving person, he also attempted to show to his family and romantic partner through actions that these qualities were important to him. These actions were also reciprocated by his family. As James noted, "I try to be loving of my family and that love is returned." Rosa, for instance, expressed her emotional connectedness to friends and romantic partner by "being goofy." She mentioned that not only did she "surround myself with people who are just as goofy as I am," but that it was important for her to "always be goofy with my partner. This is how we bond 90% of the time."

Likewise, participants also expressed their desire to establish emotional closeness with the significant people in their lives. For instance, Deborah felt "distant" from her siblings, while adding a longing for more: "I'm not as close to my siblings as I'd like to be." Deborah's desire

to maintain emotional closeness with her siblings was important because she "looked up" to her sister, who also graduated from the same university where Deborah was a student. Perhaps Deborah's sense of identification with her sister intensified her desire to further strengthen the emotional connection with her siblings.

Another way in which the participants expressed their emotional closeness was by communicating frequently with family members, by taking on additional family responsibilities, and by providing support for their family members, friends, and for their romantic partner. For instance, Gary expressed that he stayed, "in touch with family that don't live near" daily though technology. Moreover, when thinking about herself as a wife, Deborah mentioned that she and her husband worked very hard to provide support for their son.

Efficacy/Empowerment

It was meaningful and important for participants to demonstrate a sense of mastery over multiple areas of their lives. Participants' sense of autonomy and relatedness might have been inextricably linked with their growing sense of efficacy. For Deborah, it was meaningful and important to identify as a self-reliant person because, "I do not depend on anyone for anything. If I want it, I go get it. That way I don't have to worry about other people and their complaints about helping."

James, for instance, described, "I am brave. I need to be brave with all the hardships and obstacles that I know, for a fact, will face in life." Participants' sense of efficacy was also linked with their sense of wanting to empower themselves and others. Rosa used social media as a platform to empower people, particularly people who had experienced marginalization. She declared, "I am a woman/feminist [online]…I advocate for awareness. That is important to my identity. I am a strong believer of having even a tiny voice for huge issues." This was perhaps

because Rosa had also experienced marginalization, as related to her gender identity and ethnic identity.

Self-Esteem

In their narrative identities, it was meaningful and important for participants to also define themselves in ways to maintain and enhance a positive self-image. In fact, they engaged in different behaviors to increase self-esteem. For James, it was meaningful and important to be responsible in school to ensure that he completed his courses successfully. Similarly, Deborah considered herself modest in school context. She described that in addition to taking notes, "I nod [during lectures] for assurance." For Deborah, notetaking and nodding were meaningful strategies to communicate to the professor her sense of modesty. Gary, for instance, considered patient an extremely important personal identity dimension in the home context because, "it is a foundation of a solid home."

Social Responsibility

It was also meaningful and important for participants to communicate to others their sense of social responsibility by raising and caring for children—their own and others and by guiding them as a responsible parent or a sibling. For instance, as the "oldest child," it was meaningful and important for Rosa to instill in her younger brother the quality of independence and to show him through action that he could also be hardworking. Deborah, for instance, worked and strived to succeed in college in order to provide support for her son. In fact, Deborah's son motivated her to do well in college.

Honor

Participants' narratives also reflected their desires to honor their parents and their ethnic heritage. For instance, one of the many reasons why it was meaningful and important for Gary to become a college student was to "earn [his parents'] pride." In her narrative identities, Rosa

also appeared to honor her mother. By defining herself as hardworking, not only did Rosa identify with her mother, she explained, "I am hardworking so that her [mother's] struggles are not for nothing."

Rosa's experiences of marginalization appeared to have further impelled her to honor her mother as well as her ethnic heritage by "embracing" her identity as Mexican and as a woman/feminist. She noted, "My ethnic and family traditions contribute to having pride in [being] Mexican. The hardships of being a minority group also makes me support and embrace my ethnic background." Rosa also honored her ethnic heritage at home. She expressed, "I am Mexican [at home]. This is where my traditions and customs are a part of my identity."

Like Rosa, Deborah also honored her identity as African American by considering it an extremely important aspect of who she was. She expressed, "my race is who I am. [African American] brings history, it brings suffrage, it brings privilege, and that is why I appreciate my culture."

Conformity

In a few of their narrative identities, participants also expressed themselves in ways that suggested a sense of adherence to social norms and social standards of behavior. For instance, the theme of privilege associated with race and gender was common among the narrative identities of James and Gary. However, what made the narratives unique was whether they acknowledged their sense of privilege relating to their racial identity and gender identity.

In his narratives, James acknowledged the advantage he had for being White and for being a man. He explicitly noted that his gender, "give me an upper hand" within the context of family and within the broader society. Consequently, James admitted that he was held to a different, but to a *higher*, standard, and was treated differently, but *favorably*, by his family members.

James also acknowledged his White privilege. The tone of James's responses implied that identifying as White might have also been a strategy. As he noted, "being able to identify as White" was something James took pride in, "because of the privilege I get from it."

Gary's narratives about racial identity and gender identity was perhaps reflective of unacknowledged White privilege and male privilege. The tone of Gary's narrative about ethnic identifications suggested a lack of awareness of privilege associated with whiteness (an interpretive lens through which white people understand themselves and racial others (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). For instance, the fact that Gary could bring up his ethnic identifications as Scottish, Irish, and German in "conversations" might have reflected his White privilege, unmarked by race. In other words, as a self-identified White, man, Gary perhaps had the "option" to choose among different ethnicities with little cost. It is worth noting that there may be multiple explanations as, unlike James, Gary was not explicit about his privilege in his narrative.

Moreover, Deborah's narratives about her roles and responsibilities at home aligned, in some way, with traditional views of gender role expectations. She expressed, "I am the woman, so I clean everything." At the same time, however, Deborah also mentioned she worked outside of home. Perhaps Deborah had reconciled the different views of gender role expectations and had developed a more personalized and mature or integrated understanding of her gender identity.

Resistance

A few narrative identities reflected ways in which some participants used different resistance strategies to challenge stereotypes and traditional social norms and social standards of behaviors. The theme of resistance was most salient in Rosa's narrative identities. Rosa's self-view as a woman/feminist appeared to have shaped the many domains of her identities. Rosa made attempts to challenge and resist traditional gender role stereotypes through her

identifications and through her actions. For instance, Rosa considered herself an independent woman in the context of family, friends, and romantic partner. She noted, "being a woman, I try my hardest to make it on my own. This is to avoid stereotypes or assumptions that a woman must always depend on a man/person."

Rosa's sense of resistance extended into her online world. When defining as a woman/feminist in online context, she expressed, "I am vocal about my beliefs. I will post controversial posts that defend any marginalized groups from prejudice."

Discussion

In Phase III, I integrated both the *qualitative* and *quantitative* data generated from the MiQQ into self-portraits and narrative profiles and documented *how* four young adults expressed the identities they considered important across various contexts. The self-portraits and the narrative profiles of Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary provided a window into the lives of young adults from diverse backgrounds.

People construct *narrative identities* to tell stories that reflect their diverse identity experiences (McAdams, 2001; McLean et al., 2007; Singer, 2004). Narrative identities contain elements of identities that serve to define the self, define the relationships with others, and serve to illuminate the meanings of identity experiences. Despite the diversity among the narrative identities, it appeared meaningful and important for Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary to express their identities in ways to communicate to others their sense of *growing maturity and autonomy*, *relatedness and belongingness*, *efficacy and empowerment*, *self-esteem, social responsibility*, *honor*, *conformity*, and *resistance.*

The narrative identities of Rosa, Deborah, James, and Gary complemented and expanded upon the findings from Phase I and II. Almost all narrative identities reflected the young adults' growing sense of individuation (Arnett & Schwab, 2013; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2016; Regan et

al., 2004; Shulman et al., 1997). Consistent with the previous findings, the narrative profiles echoed participants' sense of mutual respect for personhood in all contexts. A few narrative identities reflected the young adults' *maturing* identity. A sense of mature identity may be associated with more responsibility (Buhrmester & Furman, 1990), sibling status (older siblings demonstrate more mature behaviors) (Wong, Branje, VandeValk, Hawk, & Meeus, 2010), and with identification with parents and siblings (Walsh et al., 2005; Wong et al., 2010). All four participants reported having at least one sibling and multiple personal, academic, and occupational responsibilities. In their narrative identities, a few also expressed their sense of identification with a parent (e.g., Rosa) and a sibling (e.g., Deborah).

The relational identity dimensions as well as the personal identity dimensions reflected interpersonal qualities and encapsulated feelings of support and desire for establishing emotional closeness or intimacy. The identity expressions reflecting the young adults' sense of belongingness, efficacy, and self-esteem may be linked with motives of identity development (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006). For these young adults, their sense of relatedness was inextricably linked with a sense of social responsibility (Walsh et al., 2005) and with family dynamics and cultural scripts (Sabogal et al., 1987; Su, McMahan, Williams, Sharma, & Sudore, 2014).

Similarly, a few of the narrative gender identities also reflected the influence of family dynamics and cultural scripts (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Deyoung & Ziegler, 1994; Zayas & Solari, 1994). For instance, a few narrative identities of James was somewhat consistent with research that has shown that Latino men's adherence to traditional masculinity ideology may be rooted in cultural values (Arciniega et al., 2008) and family dynamics – including gender socialization practices within the family (Raffaeli & Ontai, 2004).

A few narrative identities aligned with cultural master narratives. Cultural master narratives focus on the cultural standards that the person should follow (Fivush et al., 2011). The narrative identities that aligned with the master narratives reflected the privileged (McLean et al., 2016). James's narrative gender and racial identities reflected his sense of male privilege and White privilege. The narrative racial (White) identity, specifically, also indicated a sort of strategy. Consistent with prior research (Shih, Sanchez, & Ho, 2010), James's narrative implied that expression of racial identity may be dynamic for some young adults from diverse backgrounds and that young adults from diverse backgrounds may switch among their multiple identities in different contexts to adapt to a situation and to minimize or buffer against negative effects of identity threats (Wilton et al., 2012). Switching among identities, however, does not mean that the person would lose their identity. Instead, the person would learn to focus on the identity dimensions that are protective and are valued within a context or situation.

Drawing on these findings (Shih et al., 2010), Gary's narrative ethnic identity might have also reflected identity switching. For Gary, his ethnic identification might have served functionality in that it allowed him to connect with others or to stand out as "unique/interesting" (Waters, 1996). The fact that Gary could bring up his ethnic identifications as Scottish, Irish, and German in conversations reflected this functionality. Likewise, Gary's narrative ethnic identity might have also reflected a lack of awareness of privilege linked with White privilege, unmarked by race (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). For instance, White Americans with European ancestry might have many "options" to choose among different ethnicities with little cost (Waters, 1996). Could it be that Gary was "marking" his ethnic identity by identifying with a cultural group? If Gary was drawing on culture linked markers to think of himself as multicultural, Gary's narrative ethnic identity might have reflected his affiliative ethnic identity – an identity "rooted

in knowledge, regular consumption and deployment of an ethnic culture that is unconnected to an individual's ethnic ancestry until that individual regards herself, and may be regarded by others, as an affiliate of a particular ethnic group" (Jiménez, 2010, p. 1757).

Additionally, a few of the young adults' narrative identities also reflected an alternative narrative or "story structures that are created in resistance to the master narratives" (McLean & Syed, 2015, p. 324). It is argued that people who deviate from the master narratives are in a position of marginalization (Galliher et al., 2017). The alternative narratives more accurately aligned with the participants' personal experiences and reflected identity-focused resistance strategies. For young adults from diverse backgrounds, these alternative narratives may be linked with their ethnocultural and familial narratives. For Rosa who identified as Mexican, her alternative narrative gender identity reflected a complex interplay between the Latina/o cultural scripts of *familismo* (a strong identification and closeness with family), *marianismo* (idealized belief of Latina gender role expectations) (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010; Marin & Marin, 1991), and the societal definitions of femaleness (Guimond, Chatard, Martinot, Crisp, & Redersdorff, 2006).

Taken together, the narrative profiles studies provided additional insights into the ways in which young adults from diverse backgrounds may express the important aspects of their identities across various contexts. The narrative identities revealed the meanings that the young adults ascribed to their identities and experiences, which would not have been possible to capture using quantitative methods or a descriptive analysis. Thus, the narrative analysis of four case studies complemented the descriptive analysis and provided a holistic and richer picture of the identity experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds within multiple, embedded context than would be produced using either approach alone. Moreover, the narrative approach

also shed some light on the influence of the broad sociocultural and historical context on the identities and experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds. The narrative identities, for example, exemplified the identity domains and provided a more dynamic view of how young adults from diverse backgrounds negotiated and integrated the important aspects of who they were in the context of real-life situations.

Chapter 6

Implications for Research, and Practice

Our world is becoming ever more diverse. The U.S., for example, has a population that is diverse in a countless of ways beyond ethnicity and race (Perez & Hirschman, 2009). Our society's diversity has inspired scholars from different disciplines to study the experiences of people from diverse backgrounds (e.g., McCarty, Romero, & Zepeda, 2010; Phinney et al., 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Suárez-Orozco, 2004; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014; Yampolsky et al., 2013; Yip, 2014). Within the study of identity development of young people from diverse backgrounds in the U.S., researchers have focused primarily on ethnic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity – three critical domains of identity (Phinney et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2013; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014; Yampolsky et al., 2013; Yip, 2014). Yet, people differ in terms of age, gender, sexuality, religion, national origin, immigration status, language use, socioeconomic status, education level, employment, physical and mental ability, political affiliation, place of residence, and so on. All these areas of diversity are important to consider since they affect how people think, feel, and behave among themselves and with others in multiple, embedded contexts. Adopting a "whole person" approach and an ecological perspective in this research project to study the identities and experiences of young adults from diverse backgrounds demonstrated that other domains of identities, beyond ethnic identity and racial identity, matter to young people from diverse backgrounds. Put simply, I am more than just *Armenian.*

Researchers and professionals, therefore, would benefit from adopting a "whole person" approach and an ecological perspective to better understand the identities and experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds. Adopting a "whole person" approach would provide a more complete picture of how young people from diverse backgrounds negotiate, express, and

integrate the multiple aspects of their identities in context and how they draw on the important aspects of their identities to address issues of identity in their attempts to develop a healthy sense of the self. Drawing on the noteworthy findings of this research project, researchers and professionals would also benefit from adopting a "whole person" approach to unpack the diverse identity experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds, as doing so can illuminate their strengths and resilience and potentially identify the domains or "locations" of identity conflict. There are a number of ways in which a "whole person" approach may be integrated in research and in practice.

For researchers. Researchers must adopt a "whole person" approach at different levels of research to better understand the complex ways in which young people from diverse backgrounds negotiate and integrate their identities into a coherent self-concept that feels "whole" (Erikson, 1959). For instance, researchers may use multiple approaches (e.g., qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-methods) within a single study to capture a more dynamic and holistic view of the person's identity (e.g., Bagnoli, 2004; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014). As done in this research project, researchers could develop or use multi-method questionnaires like the MiQQ to generate rich information on identity content. In their efforts to develop measures, researchers are encouraged to draw on the theoretical and empirical insights from different disciplines to more fully conceptualize and operationalize identity content. Researchers interested in developing identity content measures must ensure that the measurement is culturally and developmentally relevant for the population being studied (Beaton, Bombardier, Guillemin, & Ferraz, 2000; Galliher et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2014; Scottham et al., 2008).

At the level of analysis, researchers could employ multiple and a hybrid analytical approach (e.g., deductive and inductive thematic analysis) to document the many ways in which

identities are experienced in context. For instance, investigators may employ an intersectional analysis with an explicitly focus on power, privilege, and marginalization, to learn more about the intersectional experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds (see Bowleg, 2008; Covarrubias, 2011, for methodological recommendations).

As done in this research project, another strategy is to integrate both qualitative and quantitative data into a visual representation (i.e., self-portraits) and a narrative identity profile to obtain a more dynamic and holistic picture of the identity experiences of young people from diverse backgrounds.

For educators. Our classrooms are becoming ever more diverse. Educators and students alike face challenges in addressing issues of diversity in the classroom and in the broader school context (Banks, 2016). In light of this research, an avenue to address issues of diversity and inclusion in the classroom (and in school) beyond race and ethnicity is to situate strategies in the context of multiple and intersecting identities that matter to students. This strategy may prove fruitful considering that identity is a key psychosocial task for young people (Arnett, 2014; Erikson, 1959). To generate dialogue on issues of diversity in the classroom, for example, educators may use the MiQQ in parts or in its entirety. Prior to using the MiQQ as a dialoging activity in the classroom, educators must work with students to establish sensible rules around dialoging aimed at promoting inclusion. Next, students may: (1) complete the MiQQ, (2) draw concentric circles, (3) mark the circles according to their identity importance scores (like the self-portraits in this paper), and (4) engage in a dialogue with partners and with the class as a whole. Engaging in identity related discussions may validate the *stories* of these diverse students, increase feelings of belongingness to the classroom, and uncover ways to address issues of diversity and inclusion–imperative for educators working with diverse students (Nieto, 2016;

Suárez-Orozco & Michikyan, 2016). Drawing on students' identity experiences, educators may also redesign their classroom curriculum (e.g., incorporate identity-based activities/assignments to further develop critical and reflexive thinking skills through meaningful engagement).

For counselors. Counselors may also use the MiQQ in parts or in its entirety to better understand and serve their students or clients. The MiQQ may be used with other programs (e.g., the Bridging Multiple Worlds Toolkit, Cooper, 2011) to uncover relevant information about the college-going experience of diverse students, for example, and assist them with the academic, social and cultural integration process. Specifically, counselors working with students or clients may: (1) use the MiQQ to elicit information about identity concerns or conflict, (2) identify the "location" of the conflict, (3) unpack the meaning of identity conflict, and (4) work with the student or the client to create and adopt sensible identity-strength-based coping/adaptive strategies.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

There were several strengths and limitations worth noting. The MiQQ generated rich identity descriptive data. Not all participants provided a full response, however. Aside from the issues relating to legitimate skip patterns (Williams, 2015), researchers using the MiQQ could be intentional about the required length of responses. A few practical limitations regarding the length of the analysis process must be kept in mind. Researchers could use only the features or the context-specific items relevant to their work. Moreover, investigators may also supplement the MiQQ with follow-up interviews to gain a richer picture of the person's identity experience.

The MiQQ may be used longitudinally or at different time points to examine both developmental changes and contextual fluctuations in identity negotiation and integration. One way to address the question of whether the MiQQ would generate similar responses, as young people may use unlimited number of identity labels or expressions, is to either analyze identity

expression at a latent level (dimension/domain) or distinguish between the stable or ascribed features of identity and the more fluid dimensions of identity. For instance, one's ethnic identity, one's role of a mother, one's view of oneself as a kind person, may appear largely stable, whereas one's role as a student may be more fluid.

The MiQQ may be used with other identity measures, coupled with other sophisticated analytical techniques, to generate data on identity content and process (e.g., Yip, Seaton, & Seller, 2006). Future work on positive development of young people from diverse backgrounds could examine the relationship between their multiple and intersecting identities and their sense of resilience. Although the pencil-and-paper version of the MiQQ was available, participants completed the measure online. Researchers should be intentional about using both pencil-and paper as well as online versions of the MiQQ to advantage participants who may not have online access.

There are few clear recommendations on determining sample size to achieve validity (Anthoine, Moret, Regnault, Sbille, & Hardouin, 2014). The sample size of this research project was within the recommended range of 200 to 250 (no less than 100) (Cattell, 1978; Gorsuch, 1983). Future work on the validation of the MiQQ should aim to use larger diverse college and non-college samples. Although the sample was diverse in a number of ways, the composition of the sample—mostly young adult women, Latina/o college students, and student who reported majoring in Psychology and Child Development—should be kept in mind when evaluating and generalizing the findings to young adults from diverse backgrounds. Most importantly, this research project centered the *voices* of the young adults from diverse backgrounds via the MiQQ and documented the identities and experiences that mattered to them.

Table 3

Frequencies and Percentages of Identity Domains Overall and With Others

Identity Domains	Overall Freq. (%)	Parents	Siblings	Friends	Romantic Partner
Personal	2248 (72.2)	493 (80.7)	440 (74.1)	555 (90.5)	371 (89.4)
Relational	312 (10.0)	83 (13.6)	107 (18.0)	34 (5.5)	28 (6.7)
Gender	84 (2.7)	2 (0.3)	3 (0.5)	3 (0.5)	3 (0.7)
Feminist	2 (0.1)	-	-	-	-
Sexual-Orientation	7 (0.2)	-	-	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
Ethnic	37 (1.2)	-	-	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
Cultural	8 (0.3)	-	1 (0.2)	-	-
Racial	34 (1.1)	1 (0.2)	-	-	1 (0.2)
Immigrant	4 (0.1)	-	-	-	-
Language	2 (0.1)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	-	-
Spiritual/Religious	35 (1.1)	5 (0.8)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)
Student	119 (3.8)	13 (2.1)	8 (1.3)	6 (1.0)	4 (1.0)
Civic	6 (0.2)	-	-	-	-
Tech	6 (0.2)	-	-	-	-
Occupational	56 (1.8)	3 (0.5)	5 (0.8)	4 (0.7)	4 (1.0)
(Social) Class	3 (0.1)	-	-	-	-
Age	42 (1.3)	3 (0.5)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)
Name	13 (0.4)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	-
Health	28 (0.9)	-	-	-	-
Athletic	24 (0.8)	-	-	2 (0.3)	-
Differently-abled	1 (0.0)	-	-	-	-
Place	3 (0.1)	-	-	-	-
Global	9 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	-	-
Intersecting	30 (1.0)	3 (0.5)	8 (1.3)	1 (0.2)	-
Age-relational	7 (22.6)	1 (33.3)	7 (87.5)	-	-
Racial-gender	2 (6.5)	-	-	-	-
Ethnic-cultural	11 (35.5)	1 (33.3)	1 (12.5)	-	-
Bi-ethnic	3 (9.7)	-	-	-	-
Racial-cultural	1 (3.2)	1 (33.3)	-	-	-
Gender-student	1 (3.2)	-	-	-	-
Personal-gender	4 (12.9)	-	-	1 (100.0)	-
Feminist-gender	1 (3.2)	-	-	-	-

Table 5

Frequencies and Percentages of Identity Domains in Ecological Contexts

Identity Domains	Home	School	Work	Online
Personal	383 (64.0)	469 (76.6)	527 (85.6)	429 (75.9)
Relational	156 (26.1)	29 (4.7)	27 (4.4)	51 (9.0)
Gender	4 (0.7)	3 (0.5)	2 (0.3)	14 (2.5)
Feminist	-	-	-	-
Sexual-Orientation	-	-	-	1 (0.2)
Ethnic	3 (0.5)	-	-	1 (0.2)
Cultural	1 (0.2)	-	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)
Racial	1 (0.2)	3 (0.5)	-	2 (0.4)
Immigrant	-	2 (0.3)	-	-
Language	2 (0.5)	-	-	-
Spiritual/Religious	5 (0.8)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	3 (0.5)
Student	15 (2.3)	85 (13.9)	12 (1.9)	11 (1.9)
Civic	-	-	-	3 (0.5)
Tech	3 (0.5)	-	-	27 (4.8)
Occupational	9 (1.5)	9 (1.5)	35 (5.7)	8 (1.4)
(Social) Class	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	-	-
Age	4 (0.7)	3 (0.5)	2 (0.3)	4 (0.7)
Name	-	1 (0.2)	-	-
Health	3 (0.5)	-	-	-
Athletic	-	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
Differently-abled	-	-	-	-
Place	-	-	-	-
Global	-	-	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)
Intersecting	8 (1.3)	3 (0.5)	4 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Age-relational	6 (75.0)	-	1 (25.0)	-
Racial-gender	-	-	-	-
Ethnic-cultural	-	-	-	-
Bi-ethnic	1 (12.5)	1 (33.3)	-	-
Racial-cultural	1 (12.5)	1 (33.3)	1 (25.0)	-
Gender-student	-	-	-	-
Personal-gender	-	1 (33.3)	2 (50.0)	-
Feminist-gender	-	-	-	1 (100.0)

APPENDICES

Appendix A.

Developing the MiQQ: Informal Piloting as a Class Assignment and Activity

Two versions of the questionnaire were piloted prior to the finalized version. Both versions were piloted at the same University where the finalized version was administered. All three versions contained an identity-expression feature, an identity-importance feature, and an identity-narrative feature. The identity-expression feature of the MiQQ resembled the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). The TST is designed to elicit expressions of the self-concept through free-format responses to up to twenty numbered blank items. The MiQQ was modeled after the TST because TST has been widely used to capture information about the self across different cultures. The TST format is relatively easy to understand (e.g., Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2009). The format of the TST was general enough to potentially capture intersectionality experiences (see Bowleg, 2008, for methodological recommendations).

Furthermore, in designing the three versions of the MiQQ, I also incorporated a few of the recommendations proposed by other researchers (e.g., Carpenter & Meade-Pruitt, 2008). As identity varies in importance (Schwartz et al., 2014), the identity-importance feature included a 7-point Likert-type rating scale. I opted to use a 7-point Likert-type rating scale to increase variance in the ratings of responses; in addition, 7-point rating scale has shown high respondent preference and reliability (Preston & Coleman, 2000). Further, rating scale also helped to capture identity descriptors that are less/more important and/or equally important, which a ranking system fails to do. I also opted to include a 7-point rating scale based on earlier, multiple observations in the pattern of responses to the pilot versions. Even though the MiQQ privileged language over other methods of data collection (see Bagnoli, 2004), the identity-narrative feature of the MiQQ was developed to allow the respondent to go beyond identity

dimensions and share the meaning one ascribed to these dimensions and experiences in local terms.

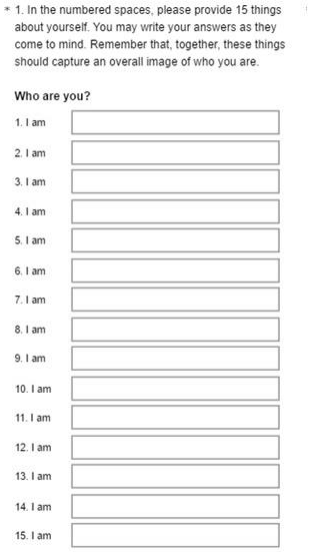
Version 1. Version 1 of the MiQQ was piloted as a class assignment with a sample of 15 undergraduate students in a multicultural psychology course in summer 2015. Students completed Version 1. In Version 1, students were asked to complete an identity-expression feature, which included 10-free format items. Next, students were asked to rate the importance of each item. The items were presented to them in a random order. Finally, students were asked to describe why all 10 identity descriptors were important overall and in 5 social context/situation. After the completion of Version 1, students engaged in conversations and a 25-30-minute class discussion during which they shared their responses/comments about the assignment/format. Students shared that having a space to share their identity experiences was meaningful. They also reported that the form could include additional items to capture one's overall sense of self. It was important, however, to limit the number of items to three for responses about the self in social context/situation. Students also wanted the option to see their identity descriptors when rating and describing them. The comments about the MiQQ were incorporated in Version 2.

Version 2. Version 2 of the MiQQ was piloted as a class assignment with a sample of 39 undergraduate students in a course on gender in fall 2016. Similar procedure was followed. Version 2 included 20-free-format items. During class discussion, students expressed that they appreciated the "space" they were offered to elaborate on why each identity expression was important to them. They recommended that the items be limited to 15-free-format to capture the overall self. They also recommended to include different social contexts (e.g., home). These recommendations were incorporated in the finalized version.

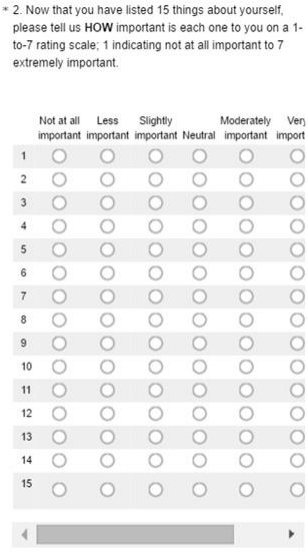
The MiQQ

Overall Self

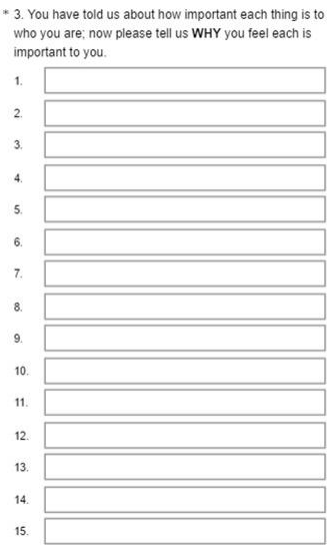
Identity-Expression



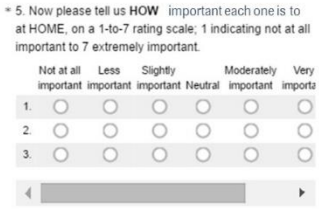
Identity-Importance



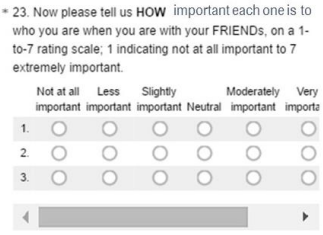
Identity-Narrative

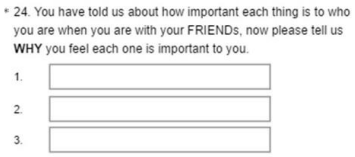


Self with Others



Self in Ecological Contexts





Note. Rating scale: 1 = *not at all important* to 7 = *extremely important*

Appendix B.

Codebook – Content of Multiple Identity Domains and Dimensions

META-CODES/THEMES (Domains)	**DEFINITIONS**	**SAMPLE RESPONSES**
Personal/Individual Identity – subjective sense of one's personalized self or self-orientation that includes (Ravert, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2008)**:**		
***SUB-CODES* (Dimensions)**		
Personality Traits	characteristics to define oneself *Note.* Traits may reflect an intrapersonal quality (e.g., I am smart) or interpersonal quality (e.g., I am sociable)	"I am an introvert. Being an introvert is important because it's the way I am, and it allows me to keep things to myself and be grounded."
Affective Traits	adopted/considered emotion words to define oneself *Note*. To be considered a dimension of individual/personal identity, one must make a reference to the self as "an object" (e.g., "person," "being" if no reference to self as object then consider it as an affective state; for definition/sample of affective state, see below)	"I am an affectionate person. I will show my love to others."
Personal Goals	what one's goals are *Note*. Could be characterized within an interpersonal/social domain (e.g., trying to be responsible for family)	"I am going to be a doctor. It's my career goal."
Values	what one values *Note*. Could be characterized within an interpersonal/social domain (e.g., I am family-oriented)	"I am a vegetarian. I do not want to kill animals."
Beliefs	what one believes in	"I am patient. I believe patience is a strong quality."
Physical Characteristics	physical attributes	"I am tall….it helps to be tall in many situations, but it also had its drawbacks…always being one of the tallest kids in school has affected my world…it is something I identify with, but it does not define me wholly.
Interests	what one likes/dislikes – including hobbies, etc.	"I am a car enthusiast. I am fascinated by the idea behind engines and thousands of individual pieces coming together to achieve the impossible."
Commitments	personal commitments *Note*. could be characterized within interpersonal domain, but must be personalized	"I am persistent…It's important because it took me about 8 years of school to finish my bachelors; I had dropped out, went back, had a baby, and worked full time.
Accomplishments	sense of achievement - completing a task/activity *Note*. Could be characterized within an interpersonal domain (see sample response)	"I am about to graduate. This is very important to me because it is going to be a great accomplishment that not many people in my family have done."
Style	sense of unique style	"I am fashionable. I like to look good. When you look good, you feel good."

General Differentiation/Presence	Acknowledgement/recognition of the self; differentiated self *Note*. Could be in the form of self-discovery (see sample response); general individualized quality (e.g., "I am me"); authenticity	"I am still finding me. It's important because I need to establish my own identity."
Relational Identity – subjective sense of who one is in relation to others; one's *roles* and *social positions* within a relational group/social-activity-based group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Buchanan & McConnell, 2017; Macek, 2003):		
SUB-CODES		
Friends	being a friend; references to self as friends; roles and responsibilities of self and of friends in friendship	"I am a friend. I need my friends and my friends need me. They are the family you get to choose."
Family members	being a family member; roles/responsibilities in the family; sibling order	"I am a daughter. Being a daughter means the world to me because I love my family and want to take care of my parents as they age."
Romantic partner/s	being significant other/partner; having a partner; self and partner roles and responsibilities in romantic relationships	"I am a wife. I'm accountable to someone other than myself."
Peers	references to activities with non-family/friends/romantic partner—others (e.g., classmates, co-workers)	"I am a classmate. It is important because I get to talk to people about the subject we learn.
Social Groups	membership to a social group – including sports fan, music fan, etc.	"I am a basketball fan. It is important because it is the reason I can talk to people."
Pets	references to the self with pets; role of pets in personal life	"I am a dog person. My dogs help me relieve my stress from school by keeping my mind occupied." "I am a dog lover. My dog is my child."
Gender Identity – subjective sense of who one is as a woman, as a man, or as a transgender person and what one's sense of gender roles, norms/expectations/responsibilities are – sometimes in relation to ideas around masculinity/femininity/gender fluidity (Lips, 2008)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification	labels to self-define as a female or a male (or a transgender person or someone who does not identify within the gender binary)	"I am a woman…it is my gender identity." "I am a strong woman…Women are always seen submissive to men, so I am strong."
Appearance	emphasis on feminine/masculine/non-conforming features	"I am not feminine…This is important because I feel society judges me and thinks of me less because I do not conform to the social norms of what a true woman should be."
Roles/Responsibilities	emphasis on (stereotypic) gender roles/representation; sense of responsibility	"I am a woman… Being a woman is important to me because I now can make decisions on my own and have a family." "I am a woman… Being a woman is important because I represent other women."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values one has about one's gender (in relation to other members in gender groups); thoughts and feelings about self	"I am a woman. Being a woman is important because there will be a lot of difficult tasks for me to handle in

	as a member of a gender group (or about self in relation to people and their membership to gender groups) and about gender issues	the future and because my mother still believes woman are not capable of doing a lot of things that men do, but I believe women and men are equal."
Feminist Identity – subjective sense of gender inequality and a sense of personal and collective (often with other women) role and responsibility to oppose this inequality (Downing & Roush, 1985)		"I am a feminist…It's important to me because, in my society, women are not as valued as men and that's why I stand for strong independent women."
Sexual-Orientation Identity – subjective sense of sexuality/sexual orientation/sexual partner preference; identification with sexual groups; sexual thoughts/fantasies (Katz-Wise, 2015; Morgan, 2013)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification	labels to define own sexuality/sexual orientation	"I am gay…I'm out to [my friends] but it isn't an issue, that's why it doesn't even seem important."
Partner Preference	partner preference (based on sexual orientation or partner gender). *Note*. Partner preference is independent of sexual preference.	"I am heterosexual…it helps me determine who I am attracted to." "I am heterosexual…I love women."
Participation/Affiliation	taking part in events and conferences related to sexuality/sexual identity, advocacy for sexual minority rights, etc.; sense of belonging to the community/group	"I am homosexual. It is important because it's who I am, it's my happiness, and it's something I feel passionate about. That is, the LGBTQ community."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expression/Characteristics	beliefs/values one has about one's sexuality/sexual orientation/sexual group (in relation to other members in sexual groups); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of a sexual group (or about self in relation to people and their membership to sexual groups) and about sexuality issues	"I am a leader. It is important because as a female homosexual, being a leader, makes me want to be a better person every day."
Ethnic Identity – subjective sense of who one is as part of an ethnic (heritage) group and where one belongs within that group; awareness of norms/expectations/behaviors as part of membership within that group (Phinney, 1996)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Affiliation	labels to self-define as a member of an ethnic group; references to being part of that group	"I am Peruvian. My ethnicity defines how I act in certain ways and how I communicate with others."
Participation	taking part in ethnic behaviors, sharing ethnic food, participating in ethnic events, etc. *Note*. References to food, etc. *must* be linked to references to ethnic identity/heritage	"I am Mexican [with friends] …we eat tacos, drink beer, and watch soccer games together."
Pride	sense of ethnic pride, feelings of pride about ancestry/heritage	"I am Native American. My heritage is something I take pride in." "I am Mexican…my family traditions contribute to having pride…the hardships of being a minority group also makes me support and embrace my ethnic background.
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values one has about one's ethnic identity/ethnicity/ethnic groups/norms (in relation to other members in ethnic groups); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of an ethnic group (or about	"I am Vietnamese… "I am not in roots with my ethnicity. I feel disconnected from my roots." "I am Mexican…I live with my mother and we stay true to our roots."

	self in relation to people and their membership to ethnic groups) and about ethnic issues; ethnic expressions (in heritage language)	
Cultural Identity – subjective sense of who one is as part of a cultural group and where one belongs within that group; awareness of cultural norms/expectations/behavior as part of membership within that group (Schwartz et al., 2008). *Note*. Although other identity categories may be considered under the encompassing theme of cultural identity (e.g., ethnic/racial/gender, etc., in this study, cultural identity was confined to U.S. cultural groups such as American youth culture, etc.		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Affiliation/ Participation	labels to self-define as a member of a cultural group; references to being from a cultural group; references to taking part in cultural behaviors, events, etc.	"I am American…U.S. citizen" "I am American…Being American gives me specific rights I would not have otherwise."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values one has about one's cultural identity/cultural group/cultural norms (in relation to other members in cultural groups); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of a cultural group (or about self in relation to people and their membership to cultural groups) and about culturally-relevant issues/messages	"I am American…I put being American as neutral because in society people really look at you solely on how you look; we associate race along with it."
Racial Identity – subjective sense of who one is as part of a racial group and where one belongs within that group and larger society; awareness of norms/expectations/behavior as part of membership within that group; awareness of racial (in)justice, rights of racial minorities; skin color privilege/marginalization (Sellers et al., 1998)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Affiliation/ Participation	labels to self-define as a member of a socially defined racial group; references to being from a racial group; taking part in events and conferences related to race, advocacy for racial minority rights and equality, etc.	"I am Latina. Being a Latina is important because I am part of a culture and I will pass the culture onto my children."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values one has about one's racial identity/racial group/racial norms (in relation to other members in cultural groups); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of a racial group (or about self in relation to people and their membership to racial groups) and about issues/messages around race, racial justice	"I am African-American…My race is who I am. It brings history along with the name, it brings suffrage, it brings privilege, that is why I appreciate my culture."
Pride	sense/feelings of pride for being a part of that racial group	"I am Latino. I am proud to be Latino because of the richness of the roots of the culture."
Phenotypical Characteristics	references to skin color; hair texture, etc.	"I am light skinned…light skin is admired in society."
Language Identity – subjective sense of who one is in relation to one or more languages; purpose of language use; thoughts and feelings associated with the language(s) (González, 2001)		"I am bilingual…It's important to me because I am able to communicate with [people from] both of my culture."
	Note. Participants need to identify with language. "I speak Spanish" may be coded in this category only if the meaning is embedded in heritage/ethnic background. Otherwise, "knowing/speaking language" may be a skill.	
Immigrant Identity – subjective sense of self as an immigrant; acknowledgement of immigrant origin (Ellis & Chen, 2013; Suárez-Orozco, 2004)		
SUB-CODES		

Identification	labels to self-define as an immigrant; references to immigrant generation status; recognition of immigrant family history	"I am third-generation…Being third generation here in the U.S. is important because I am making a better life for myself just as my parents and grandparents have."
Legal/Documentation status	references to legal status/citizenship (e.g., documented/undocumented); thoughts and feelings about self as an (un)documented person and bout issues related to immigration/documentation, immigrant justice	"I am undocumented…it is my legal status."
Spiritual/Religious Identity – subjective sense of religiosity, faith, and spirituality (Davis & Kiang, 2016; Denton, Pearce, & Smith, 2008)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Affiliation	labels to self-define as a member of a spiritual/religious group or organization	"I am a Christian. Being a Christian is very important to me because it has shaped my whole life…the way I think and the way I handle hard times."
Participation	taking part in spiritual, religious, or faith-based activities, events, etc.	"I am religious. Being religious is important to me because I grew up in a Catholic household, and I went to a Catholic elementary and middle school, therefore learning just about everything about it."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values one has about one's spiritual/religious identity/spirituality/religion; norms and customs (in relation to other members in spiritual/religious groups); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of a spiritual/religious group (or about self in relation to people and their membership to spiritual/religious groups); references to higher power/being or scriptures/messages	"GOD is important to me because I grew up in a Catholic home and church."
Student Identity – subjective sense of who one is as a student and what one's academic roles and responsibilities are; sense of school membership (Yazedjian, Toews, Sevin, & Purswell, 2008)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification	label to self-define as a student; references to student generational status	"I am a first-generation college student. Being a first-generation college student is extremely important to me because I will be the first in my family to graduate from college"
Affiliation	membership to a school incl. name of school	"I am a NAME OF UNIVERSITY freshman. It is important because it's the school I attend and worked hard to get into."
Participation	involvement in student-centered/school-based activities, and events, courses	"I am in an organization on campus. I met friends with whom I became really close and it was something I've never had."
Roles/Responsibilities	roles as a student/relating to academic experiences, majors; references to term papers; term projects; exams	"I am a child development major. I picked a major on what I know I will love doing."

		"I am a psychology major. It is important because it is necessary for me to help people as a marriage and family therapist."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes	beliefs/values one has about one's student identity/education/academic experiences (in relation to others); thoughts and feelings about self as a member of an academic community (or about self in relation to people and their membership to the academic community); references to educational issues	"I am a student. Being a student is important to me because I have always loved learning and felt a connection to academia. It is what will shape my future career." "I am a college student. It is important because I value learning."
Civic Identity – subjective sense of civic responsibility, role and political agency; civic-moral-political awareness; membership to a civic organization or political party (Youniss & Yates, 1997)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Roles/ Responsibilities/ Participation	labels to self-define as an activist/civic participant or leader; sense of civic/moral responsibilities; involved in social, moral and community-based activities, events, etc.	"I am an advocate…It is important for me to stand up for people's rights." "I am a Foster Youth Advocate. I work for those who are ignored and labeled as 'bad'" "I am an activist online. It is important because when there is a social concern or topic, I share information about the topic. (i.e. Black Lives Matter, Refugees, Immigration, Voting, etc.)
Affiliation	membership to a civic community organization or political party	"I am a democrat. It is important because I care about the less fortunate in society, and to me, that is something the democratic party is about."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expression	beliefs/values one has about one's role and responsibility as a civic community member (in relation to other members in cultural groups); thoughts and feelings about civic community engagement and about community justice issues	I am foster youth advocate. I defend my students and give them hope when their world seems shattered."
Tech Identity – subjective sense of who one is as a technology user; preferences for/of technology		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Preference	who one is as a tech person and what technology one prefers to use	"I am a Galaxy phone user. It is important because it shows what kind of phone software I prefer."
Purpose/Beliefs/Values/ Attitudes	why one uses (or not) technology influenced by based on beliefs, values, and attitudes	"I am a gamer. I enjoy having competition among peers."
Occupational Identity – subjective sense of who one is as a working adult; job related roles and responsibilities; positions/rank in the company/organization (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011)		
SUB-CODES		
Position/Roles	references to title and position held in company/organization; roles at work/job	"I am an accountant. It is a temporary profession that I have learned to enjoy."
Responsibilities	sense of responsibility for job, position, family, co-workers, etc.; references to work/job-related tasks/activities	"I am employed. It is important because it allows me to pay the bills, buy cool stuff, and go to awesome events."

		"I am unemployed. I need money to pay for things my child needs."
(Social) Class Identity – subjective sense of one's socioeconomic status; level of income; awareness of one's (or family's) position within the societal economic ladder; awareness of family's economic reputation; awareness of (lack) resources and access to societal economic resources (Thomas & Azmitia, 2014)		"I am middle class." "I am poor, and education gives you money."
Age Identity – subjective sense of age; coming of age; position in society based on age (Montepare, 2009)		"I am 21. Being 21 just means that I am officially considered an adult."
Name Identity – subjective sense of one's name; relevance of name and meaning; feelings associated with name (Brennen, 2000)		"I am NAME. People's names are very important because it is one of the first decisions our parents make for us and we have to live with it forever."
Health Identity – subjective sense of one's physical and mental health; health knowledge; diagnosis; awareness of health in relation to others (Grabowski, 2015)		"I am healthy. It is important because eventually I'm going to age, and if I don't take care of myself now, I will pay for it in the future."
Differently-Abled Identity – subjective sense of who one is as a person with disabilities; feelings associated with sense of disability; sense of membership to a disability community; sense of awareness, realization, and acceptance; agency around type and level of activities (Forber-Pratt & Zape, 2017)		"I am dyslexic. Having a reading disorder lost its importance only because I pushed myself and motivated myself to not be behind and to excel."
Athletic Identity – subjective sense of who one is as an athlete; sense of athleticism and membership to an athletic group/team (Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993)		
SUB-CODES		
Identification/Roles	labels to self-define who one is as an athlete and what one's roles are as an athlete	"I am an athlete. My family have all been elite athletes, it's just something I now follow and want to pass on to my children."
Affiliation/Participation	membership to a sports team; being involved in sports games and activities, events	"I am a soccer player…Soccer is important because I love to play, and it helps me relieve stress."
Beliefs/Values/Attitudes/ Expressions	beliefs/values related to a sport; thoughts and feelings associated with athletics, athleticism, sports	"I am swimmer…Swimming was something that allowed me to be elsewhere and make me forget what negative thing I was going through, my escape."
Place Identity – subjective sense of belonging, attachment, and identifying with a specific place; feelings of comfort with specific area; historical accounts of being born, growing up, and living in that space (Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007)		"I am Angeleno…I love LA and can't imagine being anywhere else that's as alive as it is here."
Global Identity – subjective sense of belonging to a worldwide culture; feelings of global citizenship (Arnett, 2002)		"I am part of the other 6 billion like me…we are all equal."
Intersecting – subjective sense of intersecting identities that create a unique experience (Bowleg, 2008); not always described in context of power, privilege, or marginalization		"I am a woman/feminist…Because I am outspoken, I am vocal about my beliefs. I will post controversial posts that defend any marginalized groups from prejudice. Advocate for awareness. This is important to my identity. I am a strong believer of having even a tiny voice for huge issues."

Appendix C.

Data Screening, Cleaning, and Establishing Face Validity

To establish face validity, I reviewed all responses in Individual Responses generated by surveymonkey.com were reviewed for missing/incomplete data and errors, and for trustworthiness. A total of 248 Individual Responses files were screened. Cases with at least 80% of missing data were omitted. Next, I checked the accuracy of responses using face validity – the extent to which items reflects what it is intended to measure (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Patterns of responses that did not meet the face validity criterion were deemed untrustworthy and the cases were omitted; this included cases with repeated letters and terms across most items. Not all items needed a response and such missing data were due to legitimate skip patterns (Williams, 2015). A total of 28 cases were deemed untrustworthy and were dropped. A total of 220 cases were retained for the final analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abes, E. S., Jones, S. R., & McEwen, M. K. (2007). Reconceptualizing the model of multiple dimensions of identity: The role of meaning-making capacity in the construction of multiple identities. *Journal of College Student Development, 48*(1), 1-22. doi: 10.1353/csd.2007.0000

Alexander Jr, C. N., & Knight, G. W. (1971). Situated identities and social psychological experimentation. *Sociometry*, *34*(1)65-82. doi: 10.2307/2786351

Amiot, C. E., De la Sablonnière, R., Terry, D. J., & Smith, J. R. (2007). Integration of social identities in the self: Toward a cognitive-developmental model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *11*(4), 364-388. doi: 10.1177/1088868307304091

Anthoine, E., Moret, L., Regnault, A., Sébille, V., & Hardouin, J. B. (2014). Sample size used to validate a scale: a review of publications on newly-developed patient reported outcomes measures. *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes, 12*(176), 1-10. doi: https://doi.org/10.1186/s12955-014-0176-2

Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of machismo: Development of a traditional machismo and caballerismo scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(1), 19-33. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.19

Arnett, J.J. (2002). The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist, 57* (10), 774–783. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.57.10.774

Arnett, J. J. (2014). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Arnett, J. J., & Schwab, J. (2013). Parents and their grown kids: Harmony, support, and (occasional) conflict. *The Clark University poll of parents of emerging adults*. Worcester,

MA. Retrieved from http://www2.clarku.edu/clark-poll-emerging-adults/pdfs/clark-university-poll-parents-emerging-adults.pdf

Azmitia, M., Cooper, C. R., & Brown, J. R. (2009). Support and guidance from families, friends, and teachers in Latino early adolescents' math pathways. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *29*(1), 142-169. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431608324476

Azmitia, M., Syed, M., & Radmacher, K. (2008). On the intersection of personal and social identities: Introduction and evidence from a longitudinal study of emerging adults. In M. Azmitia, M. Syed, & K. Radmacher (Eds.), *The intersections of personal and social identities: New directions for child and adolescent development* (1-16). New York, NY: Wiley and Sons.

Bagnoli, A. (2004). Researching identities with multi-method autobiographies. *Sociological Research Online*, *9*(2), 1-15. doi: https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.909

Banks, J. A. (2016). *Cultural diversity and education: Foundations, curriculum, and teaching*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Balistreri, E., Busch-Rossnagel, N. A., & Geisinger, K. F. (1995). Development and preliminary validation of the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire. *Journal of Adolescence*, *18*(2), 179-192. doi: https://doi.org/10.1006/jado.1995.1012

Barry, C. M., Madsen, S. D., Nelson, L. J., Carroll, J. S., & Badger, S. (2009). Friendship and romantic relationship qualities in emerging adulthood: Differential associations with identity development and achieved adulthood criteria. *Journal of Adult Development*, *16*(4), 209-222. doi: 10.1007/s10804-009-9067-x

Beaton, D. E., Bombardier, C., Guillemin, F., & Ferraz, M. B. (2000). Guidelines for the process of cross-cultural adaptation of self-report measures. *Spine*, *25*(24), 3186-3191.

Becker, M., Vignoles, V. L., Owe, E., Brown, R., Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M., ... Yamakoğlo, N. (2012). Culture and the distinctiveness motive: Constructing identity in individualistic and collectivistic contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*(4), 833-855. doi:10.1037/a0026853

Berzonsky, M. D., Macek, P., & Nurmi, J. E. (2003). Interrelationships among identity process, content, and structure: A cross-cultural investigation. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *18*(2), 112-130. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558402250344

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2012). The invisible weight of whiteness: The racial grammar of everyday life in contemporary America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(2), 173-194. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2011.613997

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black+ lesbian+ woman≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5-6), 312-325. doi: 10.1007/s11199-008-9400-z

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brennen, T. (2000). On the meaning of personal names: A view from cognitive psychology. *Names*, *48*(2), 139-146. doi: 10.1179/nam.2000.48.2.139

Brewer, B. W., Van Raalte, J. L., & Linder, D. E. (1993). Athletic identity: Hercules' muscles or Achilles heel? *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, *24*(2), 237-254.

Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(1), 83-93. doi: 0022-35H/96/S3.00

Brittian, A. S., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Lee, R. M., Zamboanga, B. L., Kim, S. Y., Weisskirch, R. S., … Caraway, S. J. (2013). The moderating role of centrality on associations between ethnic identity affirmation and ethnic minority college students' mental health. *Journal of American College Health, 61,* 133-140.

Brook, A. T., Garcia, J., & Fleming, M. A. (2008). The effects of multiple identities on psychological well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*(12), 1588-1600. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208324629

Brucks, W. M., Reips, U. D., & Ryf, B. (2007). Group norms, physical distance, and ecological efficiency in common pool resource management. *Social Influence, 2*(2), 112-135. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510701193436

Buchanan, T. M., & McConnell, A. R. (2017). Family as a source of support under stress: Benefits of greater breadth of family inclusion. *Self and Identity, 16*(1), 97-122. doi: 10.1080/15298868.2016.1226194

Burke, P.J., & Stets, J. E. (2009). *Identity theory.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cal State L.A. (2019). Student enrollment. Retrieved from http://www.calstatela.edu/InstitutionalEffectiveness/student-enrollment

Castillo, L. G., Perez, F. V., Castillo, R., & Ghosheh, M. R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the marianismo beliefs scale. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 23*(2), 163-175. doi: 10.1080/09515071003776036

Cattell, R. B. (1978). The scientific use of factor analysis. New York, NY: Plenum.

Cheek, J. M., Smith, S. M., & Tropp, L. R. (2002, February). Relational identity orientation: A fourth scale for the AIQ. In M*eeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Savannah, GA.* Retrieved from

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jonathan_Cheek/publication/267038939_RELATIONAL_IDENTITY_ORIENTATION_A_FOURTH_SCALE_FOR_THE_AIQ_Aspects_of_Identity_Questionnaire/links/544356ec0cf2a76a3ccb1044/RELATIONAL-IDENTITY-ORIENTATION-A-FOURTH-SCALE-FOR-THE-AIQ-Aspects-of-Identity-Questionnaire.pdf

Chun, K. Y. S., & Singh, A. A. (2010). The bisexual youth of color intersecting identities development model: A contextual approach to understanding multiple marginalization experiences. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *10*(4), 429-451. doi: 10.1080/15299716.2010.521059

Cohen, D. (2010). Methods in cultural psychology. In S. Kitayama, & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 196-236). New York, NY: Gilford Press.

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist, 64*(3), 170–180. doi: 10.1037/ a0014564

Cooper, C. R. (2011). *Bridging multiple worlds. Cultures, identities, and pathways to college*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, C. R., Cooper Jr, R. G., Azmitia, M., Chavira, G., & Gullatt, Y. (2002). Bridging multiple worlds: How African American and Latino youth in academic outreach programs navigate math pathways to college. *Applied Developmental Science*, *6*(2), 73-87. doi: https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0602_3

Covarrubias, A. (2011). Quantitative intersectionality: A critical race analysis of the Chicana/o educational pipeline. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *10*(2), 86-105. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2011.556519

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43,* 1241–1299. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2014). *Essential social psychology*. (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dahl, A., & Galliher, R. V. (2012). The interplay of sexual and religious identity development in LGBTQ adolescents and young adults: A qualitative inquiry. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 12*(3), 217–246. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2012.691255

Davis III, R. F., & Kiang, L. (2016). Religious identity, religious participation, and psychological well-being in Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(3), 532-546. doi: 10.1007/s10964-015-0350-9

de Domanico, Y. B., Crawford, I., & De Wolfe, A. S. (1994). Ethnic identity and self-concept in Mexican-American adolescents: Is bicultural identity related to stress or better adjustment? *Child and Youth Care Forum, 23*(3), 197–206.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The" what" and" why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry*, *11*(4), 227-268. doi: 10.1207/S15327965PLI1104_01

Dennis, J. M., Phinney, J. S., & Chuateco, L. I. (2005). The role of motivation, parental support, and peer support in the academic success of ethnic minority first-generation college

students. *Journal of College Student Development*, *46*(3), 223-236. doi: 10.1353/csd.2005.0023

Denton, M. L., Pearce, L. D., & Smith, C. (2008). Religion and spirituality on the path through adolescence. National Study of Youth and Religion. Retrieved from http://youthandreligion.org/sites/youthandreligion.org/files/imported/publications/docs/w2_pub_report_final.pdf

Der-Karabetian, A. (1980). Relation of two cultural identities of Armenian-Americans. *Psychological Reports*, *47*(1), 123-128. doi: https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.1980.47.1.123

Dietz, T., Kalof, L., & Stern, P. C. (2002). Gender, values, and environmentalism. *Social science Quarterly*, *83*(1), 353-364.

Douglass, S., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2015). A brief form of the ethnic identity scale: Development and empirical validation. *Identity*, *15*(1), 48–65. doi:10.1080/15283488.2014.989442

Downing, N. E., & Roush, K. L. (1985). From passive acceptance to active commitment: A model of feminist identity development for women. *The Counseling Psychologist, 13,* 695-709. doi: 10.1177/0011000085134013

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Erikson, E. H. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle: Selected papers*. Oxford, UK: International Universities Press.

Esses, V. M., Wagner, U., Wolf, C., Preiser, M., & Wilbur, C. J. (2006). Perceptions of national identity and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Canada and Germany.

International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *30*(6), 653-669. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.07.002

Esteban-Guitart, M., & Moll, L. C. (2014). Funds of identity: A new concept based on the funds of knowledge approach. *Culture & Psychology*, *20*(1), 31-48. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X13515934

Fivush, R., Habermas, T., Waters, T. E., & Zaman, W. (2011). The making of autobiographical memory: Intersections of culture, narratives and identity. *International Journal of Psychology*, *46*(5), 321-345. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00207594.2011.596541

Forber-Pratt, A. J., & Zape, M. P. (2017). Disability identity development model: Voices from the ADA-generation. *Disability and Health Journal*, *10*, 350-355. doi: 10.1016/j.dhjo.2016.12.013

Fouad, N. A., & Bynner, J. (2008). Work transitions. *American Psychologist*, *63*(4), 241–251. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.4.241

Fuligni, A. J., & Pedersen, S. (2002). Family obligation and the transition to young adulthood. *Developmental Psychology, 38*(5), 856–868. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.38.5.856

Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report, 20*(9), 1408-1416.

Galliher, R. V., McLean, K. C., & Syed, M. (2017). An integrated developmental model for studying identity content in context. *Developmental Psychology*, *53*(11), 2011-2022.

Galliher, R. V., Rivas-Drake, D., & Dubow, E. F. (2017). Identity development process and content: Toward an integrated and contextualized science of identity. *Developmental Psychology, 53*(11), 2009-2010. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dev0000452

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. In B. G. Glaser, and A. L. Strauss, (Eds.), *The discovery of grounded theory* (pp. 101–115). Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Co.

González, N. (2001). *I am my language: Discourses of women and children in the borderlands.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Gorsuch, R. L. (1983). *Factor analysis* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grabowski, D. (2015). Health identity: Theoretical and empirical development of a health education concept. *Journal of Sociological Research*, *6*(1), 141-157. doi:10.5296/jsr.v6i1.7754

Graham, S. (1992). "Most of the subjects were White and middle class": Trends in published research on African Americans in selected APA journals, 1970–1989. *American Psychologist, 47,* 629–639.

Graneheim U. H. & Lundman B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today 24*(2), 105–112. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nedt.2003.10.001

Guimond, S., Chatard, A., Martinot, D., Crisp, R. J., & Redersdorff, S. (2006). Social comparison, self-stereotyping, and gender differences in self-construals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(2), 221–242. doi: 10.1037/0022–3514.90.2.221

Hanson, W. E., Creswell, J. W., Clark, V. L. P., Petska, K. S., & Creswell, J. D. (2005). Mixed methods research designs in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(2), 224-234.

Harter, S. (1988). Developmental processes in the construction of the self. In T. D. Yawkey & J. E. Johnson (Eds.), *Integrative processes and socialization: Early to middle childhood*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hernández, B., Hidalgo, M. C., Salazar-Laplace, M. E., & Hess, S. (2007). Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *27*(4), 310-319. doi: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2007.06.003

Hill, D. L. (2006). Sense of belonging as connectedness, American Indian worldview, and mental health. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, *20*(5), 210-216. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apnu.2006.04.003

Ishitani, T. T. (2006). Studying attrition and degree completion behavior among first-generation college students in the United States. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *77*(5), 861-885. doi: 10.1080/00221546.2006.11778947

Jiménez, T. (2010). Affiliative ethnic identity: A more elastic link between ethnic ancestry and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(10), 1756-1775. doi: 10.1080/01419871003678551

Joffe, H. (2011). Thematic analysis. In D. Harper & A. R. Thompson (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners* (pp. 209-224). Chichester: Wiley.

Jones, J. M. (1994). The African American: A duality dilemma? In W. J. Lonner & R. Malpass (Eds.), *Psychology and culture* (pp. 17–23). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Juan, M. J. D., Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2016). Intersectionality of race/ethnicity and gender among women of color and White women. *Identity, 16*(4), 225-238. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2016.1229606

Kanagawa, C., Cross, S. E., & Markus, H. R. (2001). "Who am I?" The cultural psychology of the conceptual self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(1), 90-103. doi: 10.1177/0146167201271008

Katsiaficas, D., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Dias, S. I. (2015). "When do I feel like an adult?" Latino and Afro-Caribbean immigrant-origin community college students' conceptualizations and experiences of (emerging) adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood, 3*(2), 98-112. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696814548059

Katz-Wise, S. L. (2015). Sexual fluidity in young adult women and men: Associations with sexual orientation and sexual identity development. *Psychology & Sexuality, 6*(2), 189-208. doi: 10.1080/19419899.2013.876445

Kiang, L., Yip, T., & Fuligni, A. J. (2008). Multiple social identities and adjustment in young adults from ethnically diverse backgrounds. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 18*(4), 643-670. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2008.00575.x

Kielhofner, G. (2007). *Model of human occupation: Theory and application* (4th ed.). Baltimore, MD: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Kim, B. S., Atkinson, D. R., & Umemoto, D. (2001). Asian cultural values and the counseling process: Current knowledge and directions for future research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29*(4), 570-603. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000001294006

Koepke, S, & Denissen, J. A. (2012). Dynamics of identity development and separation-individuation in parent child relationships during adolescence and emerging adulthood—A conceptual integration. *Developmental Review, 32*(1), 67-88. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2012.01.001

Kroger, J., & Marcia, J. E. (2011). The identity statuses: Origins, meanings, and interpretations. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 31–54). New York, NY: Springer.

Kuhn, M. H., & McPartland, T. S. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. *American Sociological Review, 19*(1), 68-76. doi: 10.2307/2088175

Lips, H. M. (2008). *Sex & gender: An introduction* (6th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., & Soenens, B. (2006). A developmental contextual perspective on identity construction in emerging adulthood: Change dynamics in commitment formation and commitment evaluation. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(2), 366-380. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.42.2.366

Luyckx, K., Klimstra, T. A., Duriez, B., Van Petegem, S., & Beyers, W. (2013). Personal identity processes from adolescence through the late 20s: Age trends, functionality, and depressive symptoms. *Social Development, 22*(4), 701-721. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12027

Luyckx, K., Schwartz, S. J., Goossens, L., Beyers, W., & Missotten, L. (2011). Processes of personal identity formation and evaluation. In *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 77-98). New York, NY: Springer.

Luyckx, K., Seiffge-Krenke, I., Schwartz, S. J., Crocetti, E., & Klimstra, T. A. (2014). Identity configurations across love and work in emerging adults in romantic relationships. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 35*(3), 192-203. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.03.007

Macek, P. (2003). *Adolescence* (2nd ed.). Praha, Czech Republic: Portál.

MacQueen, K. M., McLellan, E., Kay, K., & Milstein, B. (1998). Codebook development for team-based qualitative analysis. Cultural Anthropology Methods, *10*(2), 31-36.

Marin, G., & Marin, B. V. (1991). *Research with Hispanic populations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *38*(1), 299-337. doi: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.38.020187.001503

Matteson, D. R. (1977). Exploration and commitment: Sex differences and methodological problems in the use of the identity status categories. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 6*(4), 353–379. doi: 10.1007/BF02139239

Mattick, R. P., & Clarke, J. C. (1998). Development and validation of measures of social phobia scrutiny fear and social interaction anxiety. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *36*(4), 455-470. doi: 10.1016/S0005-7967(97)10031-6

McAdams, D. P., & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 233-238. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721413475622

McCarty, T. L., Romero, M. E., & Zepeda, O. (2006). Reclaiming the gift: Indigenous youth counter-narratives on Native language loss and revitalization. *American Indian Quarterly*, *30*(1/2), 28-48.

McColgan, G. (2005). A place to sit: Resistance strategies used to create privacy and home by people with dementia. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *34*(4), 410-433. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241605275574

McConnell, A. R. (2011). The multiple self-aspects framework: Self-concept representation and its implications. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 15*(1), 3-27. doi: 10.1177/1088868310371101

McCubbin, H. I., Thompson, E. A., Thompson, A. I., McCubbin, M. A., & Kaston, A. J. (1993). Culture, ethnicity, and the family: Critical factors in childhood chronic illnesses and disabilities. *Pediatrics*, *91*(5), 1063-1070. doi:

McLean, K. C., & Syed, M. (2015). Personal, master, and alternative narratives: An integrative framework for understanding identity development in context. *Human Development, 58*(6), 318-349. doi: https://doi.org/10.1159/000445817

McLean, K. C., Pasupathi, M., & Pals, J. L. (2007). Selves creating stories creating selves: A process model of self-development. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *11*(3), 262-278.

McLean, K. C., Shucard, H., & Syed, M. (2017). Applying the master narrative framework to gender identity development in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, *5*(2), 93-105. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696816656254

McLean, K. C., Syed, M., & Shucard, H. (2016). Bringing identity content to the fore: Links to identity development processes. *Emerging Adulthood, 4*, 356–364. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2167696815626820

McLean, K. C., Syed, M., Yoder, A., & Greenhoot, A. F. (2016). The role of domain content in understanding identity development processes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 26*(1), 60-75. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12169

Meca, A., Ritchie, R. A., Beyers, W., Schwartz, S. J., Picariello, S., Zamboanga, B. L., ... & Crocetti, E. (2015). Identity centrality and psychosocial functioning: A person-centered

approach. *Emerging Adulthood, 3*(5), 327-339. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696815593183

Meyer, I. H. (2010). Identity, stress, and resilience in lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals of color. *The Counseling Psychologist, 38*(3), 442-454. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000009351601

Michikyan, M., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2017). Enacted identities of immigrant-origin emerging adult women in online contexts: Capturing multiple and intersecting identities using qualitative strategies. *Identity, 17*(3), 138-155. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2017.1340161

Michikyan, M., Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2015). A picture is worth a thousand words: A mixed methods study of online self-presentation in a multiethnic sample of emerging adults. *Identity, 15,* 287–308. doi: 10.1080/15283488.2015.1089506

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Montepare, J. M. (2009). Subjective age: Toward a guiding lifespan framework. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 33*(1), 42-46. doi: 10.1177/0165025408095551

Morgan, E. M. (2013). Contemporary issues in sexual orientation and identity development in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*(1), 52-66. doi: 10.1177/2167696812469187

Morgan, E. M., & Davis-Delano, L. R. (2016). How public displays of heterosexual identity reflect and reinforce gender stereotypes, gender differences, and gender inequality. *Sex roles, 75*(5-6), 257-271. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0613-2

Moss, K., & Faux, W. V. (2006). The enactment of cultural identity in student conversations on intercultural topics. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 17*(1), 21-37. doi: 10.1080/10646170500487905

Nieto, S. (2016). Education in a globalized world: Challenges, tensions, possibilities, and implications for teacher education. In J. A. Banks, M. M. Suárez-Orozco, & M. Ben-Peretz (Eds.), *Global migration, diversity and civic education: Improving policy and practice* (pp. 202-222). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Nunnally, J. C., & Bernstein, I. H. (1994). *Psychometric theory* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture.* Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press

Orbe, M. P. (2004). Negotiating multiple identities within multiple frames: an analysis of first-generation college students. *Communication Education, 53*(2), 131-149. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/0363452042000168240l

Oyserman, D., Elmore, K., & Smith, G. (2012). Self, self-concept, and identity. In M. Leary & J. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity.* (2nd ed., pp. 69-104). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Park, C. L. (2013). The meaning making model: A framework for understanding meaning, spirituality, and stress-related growth in health psychology. *European Health Psychologist, 15*(2), 40-47.

Park, C. L., Edmondson, D., Fenster, J. R., & Blank, T. O. (2008). Meaning making and psychological adjustment following cancer: the mediating roles of growth, life meaning,

and restored just-world beliefs. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *76*(5), 863.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Perez, A. D., & Hirschman, C. (2009). The changing racial and ethnic composition of the US population: Emerging Americans identities. *Population and Development Review, 35*, 1-51. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2009.00260.x

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*(3), 499-514. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.108.3.499

Phinney, J. S. (1993). A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence. In M. E. Bernal & G. P. Bernal (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (pp. 61- 79). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Phinney, J. S., Berry, J. W., Vedder, P., & Liebkind, K. (2006). The Acculturation experience: Attitudes, identities and behaviors of immigrant youth. In J. W. Berry, J. S. Phinney, D. L. Sam, & P. Vedder (Eds.), *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts* (pp. 71-116). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *30*(2), 135-153. doi: https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010389607319

Pittinsky, T. L., Shih, M., & Ambady, N. (1999). Identity adaptiveness: Affect across multiple identities. *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*(3), 503-518. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00130

Polit D.F. & Beck C.T. (2004) Nursing Research. Principles and Methods. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, Philadelphia, PA.

Preston, C. C., & Colman, A. M. (2000). Optimal number of response categories in rating scales: reliability, validity, discriminating power, and respondent preferences. *Acta Psychologica*, *104*(1), 1-15. doi: 10.1016/S0001-6918(99)00050-5

Radmacher, K. A., & Azmitia, M. (2016). Family emotional support and the individuation process among Asian- and Latino-heritage college going emerging adults. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *26*(4), 979-990. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12251

Ragins, B. R., Singh, R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2007). Making the invisible visible: Fear and disclosure of sexual orientation at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(4), 1103. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.92.4.1103

Ravert, R. D. (2009). "You're only young once": Things college students report doing now before it is too late. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *24*(3), 376–396. doi: 10.1177/0743558409334254

Regan, P. C., Durvasula, R., Howell, L., Ureño, O., & Rea, M. (2004). Gender, ethnicity, and the developmental timing of first sexual and romantic experiences. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *32*(7), 667-676. doi: https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2004.32.7.667

Reich, S. M., Subrahmanyam, K., & Espinoza, G. (2012). Friending, IMing, and hanging out face-to-face: Overlap in adolescents' online and offline social networks. *Developmental Psychology, 48*(2), 356-368. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0026980

Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *6*(2), 88-106. doi: https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0602_01

Rodriguez, L., Schwartz, S. J., & Krauss Whitbourne, S. (2010). American identity revisited: The relation between national, ethnic, and personal identity in a multiethnic sample of emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 25*(2), 324-349. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558409359055

Rosa, M. L. D. L. (2006). Is opportunity knocking? Low-income students' perceptions of college and financial aid. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *49*(12), 1670-1686. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764206289139

Rukeyser, M. (1968). *The speed of darkness*. New York, NY: Random House.

Sabogal, F., Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., VanOss Marin, B., & Perez-Stable, E. J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9*, 397-412.

Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sandelowski, M. (2000). Combining qualitative and quantitative sampling, data collection, and analysis techniques in mixed-method studies. *Research in Nursing & Health*, *23*(3), 246-255.

Schensul, J. J., and LeCompte, M. D. (2013). *Essential ethnographic methods: A mixed methods approach*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira.

Schwartz, S. J. (2001). The evolution of Eriksonian and Neo-Eriksonian identity theory and research: A review and integration. Identity, 1(1), 7-58. doi: https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532706XSCHWARTZ

Schwartz, S. J., Hardy, S. A., Zamboanga, B. L., Meca, A., Waterman, A. S., Picariello, S., ... & Roberts, S. E. (2015). Identity in young adulthood: Links with mental health and risky behavior. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *36*, 39-52. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.10.001

Schwartz, S. J., Luyckx, K., & Crocetti, E. (2014). What have we learned since Schwartz (2001)? A reappraisal of the field of identity development. In K. C. McLean & S. Moin (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 539-561). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Schwartz, S.J., Rodriguez, L., Weisskirch, R.S., Zamboanga, B.L., & Pantin, H.M. (2013). Personal, ethnic, and cultural identity in urban youth: Links with risk and resilience. In G.L. Creasey and P.A. Jarvis (Eds.), *Adolescent development and school achievement in urban communities: Resilience in the neighborhood* (pp. 216-226). New York, NY: Routledge.

Schwartz, S. J., Vignoles, V. L., & Luyckx, K. (2011). Epilogue: What's next for identity theory and research? In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 933-938). New York, NY: Springer.

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., & Weisskirch, R. S. (2008). Broadening the study of the self: Integrating the study of personal identity and cultural identity. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *2*(2), 635-651. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00077.x

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Luyckx, K., Meca, A., & Ritchie, R. (2013). Identity in emerging adulthood: Reviewing the field and looking forward. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*(1), 96-113. doi: 10.1177/2167696813479781

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Wang, W., & Olthuis, J. V. (2009). Measuring identity from an Eriksonian perspective: Two sides of the same coin? *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *91*(2), 143-154. doi: 10.1080/00223890802634266

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Weisskirch, R. S., & Rodriguez, L. (2009). The relationships of personal and ethnic identity exploration to indices of adaptive and maladaptive psychosocial functioning. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *33*(2), 131-144. doi: 10.1177/0165025408098018

Scottham, K. M., Sellers, R. M., & Nguyên, H. X. (2008). A measure of racial identity in African American adolescents: The development of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity–Teen. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*, 297–306. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.14.4.297

Sedikides, C., Gaertner, L., & O'Mara, E. M. (2011). Individual self, relational self, collective self: Hierarchical ordering of the tripartite self. *Psychological Studies*, *56*(1), 98-107. doi: 10.1007/s12646-011-0059-0

Seidman, I. E. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research*. (4th ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*(4), 805-815.

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18-39. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Serpe, R. T., & Stryker, S. (2011). The symbolic interactionist perspective and identity theory. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 225-248). New York, NY: Springer.

Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2000). Situational stability and variability in African American racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *26*(1), 27-50. doi: 10.1177/0095798400026001002

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, *22*(2), 63-75. doi: 10.3233/EFI-2004-22201

Shih, M., Sanchez, D. T., & Ho, G. C. (2010). Costs and benefits of switching among multiple social identities. In R. J. Crisp (Ed.), *Social issues and interventions. The psychology of social and cultural diversity* (pp. 62-83). Oxford, England: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781444325447.ch4

Shulman, S., Laursen, B., Kalman, Z., & Karpovsky, S. (1997). Adolescent intimacy revisited. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *26*(5), 597-617. doi: https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024586006966

Singer, J. A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality, 72*(3), 437-460. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3506.2004.00268.x

Skhirtladze, N., Javakhishvili, N., Schwartz, S. J., & Luyckx, K. (2018). Links between life stories and identity profiles in emerging adults from Georgia. *Emerging Adulthood, 6*(6), 422-433. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696817746039

Skorikov, V. B., & Vondracek, F. W. (2011). Occupational identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 693-714). New York, NY: Springer.

Smith, P. B. (2011). Cross-cultural perspectives on identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 249–265). New York, NY: Springer.

Sneed, J. R., Schwartz, S. J., & Cross, Jr, W. E. (2006). A multicultural critique of identity status theory and research: A call for integration. *Identity*, *6*(1), 61-84. doi: 10.1207/s1532706xid0601_5

Sólorzano, D. G., Villalpando, O., & Oseguera, L. (2005). Educational inequities and Latina/o undergraduate students in the United States: A critical race analysis of their educational progress. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *4*(3), 272-294.

Stets, J. E. & Serpe, R. T. (2013). *Identity theory*. In DeLamater, J. & Ward, A. (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 31-60). New York, NY: Springer.

Stewart, D. L. (2008). Being all of me: Black students negotiating multiple identities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(2), 183-207.

Stirratt, M. J., Meyer, I. H., Ouellette, S. C., & Gara, M. A. (2008). Measuring identity multiplicity and intersectionality: Hierarchical classes analysis (HICLAS) of sexual, racial, and gender identities. *Self and Identity*, *7*(1), 89-111. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15298860701252203

Stryker, S., & Serpe, R. T. (1994). Identity salience and psychological centrality: Equivalent, overlapping, or complementary concepts?. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57(1), 16-35. doi: 10.2307/2786972

Su, C. T., McMahan, R. D., Williams, B. A., Sharma, R. K., & Sudore, R. L. (2014). Family matters: Effects of birth order, culture, and family dynamics on surrogate decision-making. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, *62*(1), 175-182. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/jgs.12610

Suárez-Orozco, C. (2004). *Formulating identity in a globalized world.* In M. M. *Suárez-Orozco,* & D. B. Qin-Hilliard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 173-202). Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Katsiaficas, D., Birchall, O., Alcantar, C. M., Hernandez, E., Garcia, Y., ... & Teranishi, R. T. (2015). Undocumented undergraduates on college campuses: Understanding their challenges and assets and what it takes to make an undocufriendly campus. *Harvard Educational Review, 85*(3), 427-463.

Suárez-Orozco, M. & Michikyan, M. (2016). Introduction: Education for citizenship in the age of globalization and mass migration. In J. A. Banks, M. M. Suárez-Orozco, & M. Ben-Peretz (Eds.), *Global migration, diversity and civic education: Improving policy and practice*. (pp. 1-25). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Syed, M. (2010). Developing an integrated self: Academic and ethnic identities among ethnically diverse college students. *Developmental Psychology, 46,* 1590–1604. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020738

Syed, M., & McLean, K. C. (2016). Understanding identity integration: Theoretical, methodological, and applied issues. *Journal of Adolescence, 47,* 109-118.

Syed, M., Azmitia, M., & Cooper, C. R. (2011). Identity and academic success among underrepresented ethnic minorities: An interdisciplinary review and integration. *Journal of Social Issues, 67*(3), 442-468. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01709.x

Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Way, N., Hughes, D., Yoshikawa, H., Kalman, R. K., & Niwa, E. Y. (2008). Parents' goals for children: The dynamic coexistence of individualism and collectivism in cultures and individuals. *Social Development, 17*(1), 183-209. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00419.x

Tharps, L. L. (2016). *Same family, different colors: Confronting colorism in America's diverse families*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Thomas, A. J., & Scharzbaum, S. E. (2017). *Culture and identity: Life stories for counselors and therapists*. (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Thomas, V., & Azmitia, M. (2014). Does class matter? The centrality and meaning of social class identity in emerging adulthood. *Identity, 14*(3), 195-213. doi: 10.1080/15283488.2014.921171

Toomey, R. B., Anhalt, K., & Shramko, M. (2016). An examination of the validity and reliability of a measure of sexual orientation identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation. *Self and Identity, 15,* 488–504. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2016.1157516

Torres, V. (2003). Influences on ethnic identity development of Latino college students in the first two years of college. *Journal of College Student Development, 44*(4), 532-547. Doi: 10.1353/csd.2003.0044

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., ... & Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development, 85*(1), 21-39. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gómez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity, 4*, 9-38. doi:10.1207/S1532706XID0401_2

Van Manen, M. (1990). Researching lived experience. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Verkuyten, M. (2016). Further conceptualizing ethnic and racial identity research: The social identity approach and its dynamic model. *Child Development, 87*(6), 1796-1812. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12555

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024-1054. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465

Viera, A. J., & Garrett, J. M. (2005). Understanding interobserver agreement: the kappa statistic. *Family Medicine, 37*(5), 360-363.

Vignoles, V. L., Regalia, C., Manzi, C., Golledge, J., & Scabini, E. (2006). Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(2), 308-333. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.2.308

Vignoles, V. L., Schwartz, S. J., & Luyckx, K. (2011). Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 1-27). New York, NY: Springer.

Walsh, S., Shulman, S., Feldman, B., & Maurer, O. (2005). The impact of immigration on the internal processes and developmental tasks of emerging adulthood. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *34*(5), 413-426. doi: 10.1007/s10964-005-7259-7

Waterman, A. S. (2015). What does it mean to engage in identity exploration and to hold identity commitments? A methodological critique of multidimensional measures for the study of identity processes. *Identity*, *15*(4), 309-349. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2015.1089403

Waters, M. C. (1996). "Optional ethnicities: For Whites only?" In S. Pedraza, & R. Rumbaut (Eds.), *Origins and destinies: Immigration, race and ethnicity in America* (pp. 444–454). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press.

Watzlawik, M., & Clodius, S. (2015). Interpersonal identity development in different groups of siblings. *European Psychologist*, *16*(1), 43-47. doi: 10.1027/1016-9040/a000030

Way, N., Santos, C., Niwa, E. Y., & Kim-Gervey, C. (2008). To be or not to be: An exploration of ethnic identity development in context. In M. Azmitia, M. Syed, & K. Radmacher (Eds.), *The intersections of personal and social identities: New directions for child and adolescent development* (pp. 61–78). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Williams, R. (2015). Missing data part 1: Overview, traditional methods. Retrieved from http://www3.nd.edu/~rwilliam/stats2/l12.pdf

Willig, C. (2008). Discourse analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed.) (pp. 160–85). London, UK: Sage.

Wilton, L. S., Sanchez, D. T., & Garcia, J. A. (2013). The stigma of privilege: Racial identity and stigma consciousness among biracial individuals. *Race and Social Problems*, *5*(1), 41-56. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-012-9083-5

Wong, T. M., Branje, S. J., VanderValk, I. E., Hawk, S. T., & Meeus, W. H. (2010). The role of siblings in identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence*, *33*(5), 673-682.

Wray-Lake, L., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2011). The developmental roots of social responsibility in childhood and adolescence. In C. A. Flanagan & D. B. Christens (Eds.), *Youth civic development: Work at the cutting edge, new directions for child and adolescent development* (pp. 11–25). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Yampolsky, M. A., Amiot, C. E., & de la Sablonnière, R. (2013). Multicultural identity integration and well-being: a qualitative exploration of variations in narrative coherence and multicultural identification. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *4*(126), 1-15. doi: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00126

Yazedjian, A., Toews, M. L., Sevin, T., & Purswell, K. E. (2008). "It's a whole new world": A qualitative exploration of college students' definitions of and strategies for college success. *Journal of College Student Development*, *49*(2), 141-154. doi: 10.1353/csd.2008.0009

Yip, T. (2014). Ethnic identity in everyday life: The influence of identity development status. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 205-219. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12107

Yip, T., Seaton, E. K., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American racial identity across the lifespan: Identity status, identity content, and depressive symptoms. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1504-1517. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00950.x

Youniss, J., & Yates, M. (1997). *Community service and social responsibility in youth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zimmerman M. A. (2000) Empowerment theory. In J. Rappaport, & E. Seidman (Eds.), *Handbook of community psychology* (pp. 43-63). Boston, MA: Springer.